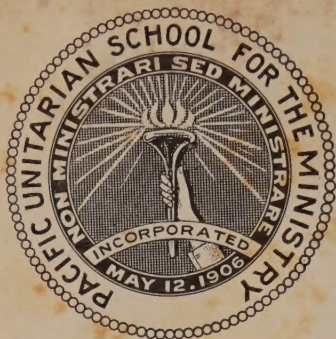






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THE  
CHRISTIAN TEACHER.

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ART. I.—ENGLISH NONCONFORMITY.

1. *The Suffolk Bartholomeans: a Memoir of the Ministerial and Domestic History of John Meadows, Clk., A.M., formerly Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; ejected under the Act of Uniformity from the Rectory of Ousden in Suffolk.* By the late Edgar Taylor, Esq., F.S.A., one of his Descendants. With a Prefatory Notice, by his Sister. Printed by Arthur Taylor. London: William Pickering. 1840.
2. *The Rise of the Old Dissent, exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood, one of the Founders of the Presbyterian Congregations in the County of York, 1630—1702.* By the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1842.

TIME works great changes in the feelings with which men look back on the transactions of a former period. Perhaps in no respect is the silent progress of popular sympathies—or, to speak more justly, of an enlarged spirit of humanity—more conspicuous, than in the increasing diversion of historical research from the great names and imposing shows which have been carried in triumph over the theatre of human affairs, as if alone deserving attention—to the investigation of those events, less prominent to the eye, less dazzling to the imagination, but more intensely operative on the inward heart of society—which have drawn after them the happiness or the misery, the moral advancement or the moral degradation, of vast masses of our fellow-beings, and the remote consequences of which vibrate for generations in myriads of hearts and homes that lie sheltered in the lowly vale of life.—We do not underrate the value of the exactest political history.—We know that statesmen and



warriors have important parts assigned them in the great drama of the world; and we desire to be informed, even to the minutest particulars, how they acquitted themselves.—Nevertheless, we must confess, it is oftentimes very refreshing to escape from the formal talk of politicians and diplomatists, who use language as if it were given them to hide their thoughts—into the homely but touching realities of private life—into the presence of living and suffering humanity—and to listen, as it were, with our own ears, to the deep and plaintive tones in which it has told the story of its griefs, its trials and its wrongs. And it is honourable to human nature, that with many of these obscurer agents in the world's history, whose existence is only recognised by the insult and abhorrence of their immediate successors—a more intimate familiarity does not, according to proverbial experience, “breed contempt,” but rather, when all their circumstances are fairly taken into consideration, calls forth our sympathy and respect. Happily there is a principle of retribution in the world, which ultimately avenges the memories of the calumniated. *Deus tacito ingrediens vestigio, secundum justitiam res tractat humanas.* Literature, that best interpreter of humanity, at length draws towards them the interest and sympathy, which it is her noblest function to awaken in men's hearts, on behalf of the earnest, the truthful, and the self-sacrificing; and under the broad and mellowing shades of time, exhibits their persons and their deeds as the objects of a calm and rational veneration. Who that contemplated the old Puritans of England, or the persecuted Protestants of France, from the point of view that offered itself in the frivolous and dissolute courts of Charles II. and Louis XIV., could ever have anticipated, that they would become the theme of poetry and romance. Yet literature has not been unfaithful to her trust; and if she cannot be regarded as the apologist and advocate of the religious enthusiasm of the seventeenth century, her truthful eye has discerned the living principles which wrought in its history, and her graphic touch has embodied them in a form which appeals irresistibly to all hearts. Wherever the English language may spread, the outward form of Puritanism, its quaint devotion, its dogged principle, and its invincible honesty, will be preserved to all ages in the deathless colours of the pencil of Scott. Tieck has found a subject in the still wilder fanaticism of the Camisards;\* and Mr. Carlyle, whose large mind and powerful imagination interpret to our familiar conceptions the oracular teachings of the past—has recently stept

\* Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen.

forth, with eloquent boldness, in the presence of hereditary antipathy and aristocratical prejudice, as the defender of principles that found their fittest expression and most complete development in the character of Cromwell.

The persons and events belonging to the extraordinary period now referred to, are chiefly interesting in our own history, from the influence they have exerted on that broad, deep substratum of manners and opinion, from which, however unnoticed by the eye of the superficial observer, our popular life has unquestionably derived no small portion of its distinguishing independence and energy. To understand what England has been and what England is now, it is necessary to trace the great political and religious questions on which her fortunes have constantly revolved, and on which they are still suspended—to their original outburst in the struggles of the Puritans with the Crown and the hierarchy, and to pursue into the endless ramifications of their influence on the habitudes and feelings of private life, the working of those principles that were beat down from their temporary ascendancy, and reduced to dependence and degradation, by the Restoration. It has fortunately happened, that the very age respecting which it is so desirable to possess the fullest information, is singularly rich in the memorials of private life; so that it has been called “peculiarly the age of diaries.”\*—From materials of this description, the works whose titles are prefixed to the present article have been chiefly drawn. They are valuable contributions to our knowledge of the moral and religious condition of England during the Commonwealth and the reigns of the two last Stuarts. To general readers, who have no traditional sympathies with Puritanism, and are satisfied with the superficial survey of the popular historian, they are not likely to prove very attractive; but they who wish to penetrate a little below the surface of things, and to know from its own disclosures what Puritanism actually was—still more, they who have inherited the cause and the principles of the men, whose sacrifices are here recorded, and who rejoice to number among their friends and associates to this day, not a few who claim direct descent from the race of martyrs—all these will find in the volumes before us matter of deep interest and rich instruction. For ourselves, we are free to confess, we deem it at once profitable and delightful to preserve bright and unbroken the links that connect existing generations with the wise and the just who are gone; and we think, it shows extraordinary ignorance of some of the worthiest influences that can

\* See Mr. Hunter's Preface, p. v.

act on the human mind, to profess an utter insensibility to the honour and advantage of being sprung from a high-minded and pious ancestry. Among the descendants of Mr. Meadows, says the late excellent Mr. Edgar Taylor, in a passage which well expresses the spirit of his own upright and consistent course in life—

“ There has always been, and still is, found some worthy exemplar of the character and office of a nonconformist minister of this denomination. The successive descendants of the worthy confessor whose history we have been mainly considering, have indeed widely differed, and continue to differ, in many of their characteristics (and particularly in opinion on speculative points in theology), from the doctrinal views of the parent stock to which the origin of the religious association in which they have been brought up has been traced; but under all such changes they have been always, and still are, found sympathising with, and holding as worthy of all imitation, the love of truth, the resistance to tyranny, and the conscientious integrity of principle, manifested by their venerable ancestor; and trusting that, in the varied forms which their profession as nonconformists has, at different times, assumed, they have maintained their own views in charity and goodwill to all men, impatient of nothing but sectarian exclusiveness, and of all attempts at domination over the independence of conscience; that, in looking to the example of those who went before them, they follow and carry out only what in their judgment was at the beginning, and in all stages has been, estimable and enduring in the example set them;—and—that their attachment to the cause of which their forefather, and such as he, laid the foundation, is reasonably based on a conviction that the principles it involves are conducive to the cause of truth and scriptural knowledge, as well as to the practical advancement and extension of civil and religious liberty.” \*

In the same spirit, a century and a half earlier, but looking forward to the future, as well as back upon the past, Oliver Heywood entered this touching and solemn record of his thoughts:—

“ When I was sitting in mine own house on Lord’s day night, Sept. 22, 1678, musing upon mine own death, and thinking on those thousands of blessed souls that have broken the ice, and gone before me into that celestial city, many of my godly relations that died in the Lord came afresh into my thoughts, and I at last resolved to make a catalogue of them that are within my cognizance or remembrance; partly to maintain the memory of the just, partly to comfort mine own heart, that any, yea so many, of my kindred in the flesh were gracious, are now glorified saints, whom I hope to meet in heaven; partly to recommend them to the observation and imitation of my sons and their seed, that they may see what a religious stock they are branches of,

\* Memoir, &c., pp. 119, 120.

that they or theirs may never degenerate, but walk in the same steps that their ancestors found peace in, and rest in the end of; nor shall I go further than well-grounded charity according to the Scriptures will admit of, some of them having been more than ordinarily eminent in their generations, others very hopeful plants of renown: and I more value my parentage for godliness than greatness, religion than riches." \*

Mr. John Meadows, from whom the wide-spread and highly respectable families of Taylor and Martineau are lineally descended, (and we notice this Memoir, first because it was the earliest published,) sprang from a race that had for many generations been settled as substantial landowners in the county of Suffolk, and was destined by his father, Daniel Meadows, of Chatisham Hall, who possessed the advowson of a valuable living, for the church. In 1639, he was admitted into Emmanuel College, Cambridge, celebrated for the Puritanical predilections of its inmates, and afterwards removed to Corpus Christi, where in 1646 he took his Master's degree. His younger brother, Philip, who was ultimately knighted by Charles II., became, under the Protectorate, assistant to Milton as Secretary for the Latin Tongue; was employed by Cromwell on some missions of great importance at foreign Courts; and after the Revolution was associated with Locke at the Board of Trade and Plantations. The name of this collateral branch was at length lost through marriage with an heiress, in that of the noble family of Pierrepont. Meanwhile the elder brother had taken a course which entailed very different fortunes on his descendants. Mr. John Meadows entered life when the principles of Puritanism were in the ascendant, and was inducted into the living of Ousden, according to the forms which at that time were held to constitute a valid and legal appointment. Although of a gentle and moderate spirit, he had decidedly attached himself to the party which desired a very extensive change, and, as they deemed it, reformation in the discipline and ritual of the Church of England, so that when the Act of Uniformity was passed, he relinquished his preferment and took his lot with the Nonconformists. It does not appear that, after his ejection, he ever became the settled pastor of a congregation; though he occasionally preached, when his services were required. Inheriting a handsome fortune, he was exempted from many of the hardships and trials which visited the ejected clergy generally, though, with his principles, exclusion from the national ministry must have been felt a grievous privation.



With this exception, the remainder of his days passed away calmly and not unhappily. He almost wholly escaped the heavier operations of the penal laws against Dissenters; and his ample means were constantly and most generously employed in relieving the necessities of his less fortunate brethren. In this way his history is intimately connected with that of the principal "Suffolk Bartholomeans." Notices of some of these sufferers, from the light which they throw on the state of the times, add greatly to the value and interest of Mr. Taylor's Memoir of his ancestor. It was no small aggravation of the sufferings of Nonconformists at this period, that they had some difficulty in ascertaining what their exact position was, and how far they might safely follow the dictates of their consciences; as the application of the persecuting statutes enacted against them depended very much on the temper and discretion of the local magistracy. To what shameful abuses this might lead, when the execution of the laws fell into the hands of bigotted partizans, we may judge from the following extract: it relates to Mr. Scanderet, an ejected minister, who had ventured to preach a lecture which was a sinecure.

"In the midst of the sermon, Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir Gervase Elwes, Sir Algernoon May, and two other justices, came into the Church, and asked him what authority he had to preach, and forced him to come down: and he was sent, with some other ministers, to Bury Goal.

"After a while, they at the sessions bound them all in a recognizance of £20 a man, to appear at the next assizes. Mr. Scanderet was there, but did not answer when he was called; and when he saw his brethren remanded to gaol, he withdrew. Afterwards, going home from Norwich, he met Sir Edmund on the road. He was very severe upon him for not appearing at the assizes, and would take him prisoner. He riding away," (one account states 'with his wife behind him,') "Sir Edmund's servant pursued and stopped him. When Sir Edmund came up to him, he first lashed him with his whip, and then snatching Mr. Scanderet's cane from him, laid on severely on his head and body with his own cane: he doing what he could to save his head with his arm, that was miserably black and blue from his elbow to his shoulder. He sent him prisoner to Ipswich rather than Bury, that, as he said, he might *break the covey*. From thence he sent for, and obtained, a *Habeas Corpus* for trial at the Common Pleas; where, having declared how he had been dealt with, he was discharged."—p. 76-9.

It is to be feared, this was not a singular instance of insolence and brutality in the Tory justices of those days. When traits like these make their appearance in popular literature, we may be sure they form a salient feature in the physiognomy of the time. The Tory Fox-hunter in Addison's *Freeholder*,



who valued his dog because "he had once like to have worried a dissenting teacher—which had made him a great favourite among all the honest gentlemen of the country"—must be taken as the representative of a class. Amongst the contemporaries of Mr. Meadows, and connected with him by marriage, was Mr. John Fairfax, sprung from a collateral branch of the family of Thomas Lord Fairfax, who, with his father, had been ejected under the Act of Uniformity. For eloquence as a preacher and for piety, as well as for the rare union of energy of character with practical wisdom, Mr. Fairfax appears to have been decidedly the most eminent among the Suffolk Bartholomeans. The letters written to his father from prison, which Mr. Taylor has inserted in his Appendix, exhibit a beautiful specimen of warm affection and of calm, dignified, resignation, without the least tincture of bitterness and fanaticism, and set the principles of persecuted Nonconformity in the most favourable light.\* Of Mr. Meadows himself, the impression left on the mind by the faint outlines of his character, which the volume before us has attempted to restore—is that of a mild, good man, governed by a high and conscientious sense of religion, not fitted by nature to play a distinguished part on the public theatre of life—whose name but for the peculiar circumstances attending it, would have faded gradually and peacefully from the earth, cherished only in the affectionate remembrance of his immediate survivors. The conscientiousness for which he was remarkable, descended to his children. His eldest son, John, was brought up at the Grammar School of Bury St. Edmunds, under the tuition of Edward Leedes, well known as the author of a work on Greek Quantity, and afterwards studied at Caius College, Cambridge: but, though there was a valuable living in the family, when he had to choose his part in life, he followed his father's footsteps, and settled down in a sphere of humble usefulness, as the minister of a dissenting congregation at Barking or Market Needham, where he was still living in 1755, when Dr. Priestley became his colleague in the pastoral office. We are thus brought to a link which connects individuals still living with the original founders of the Nonconformist Churches.

The more elaborate work of Mr. Hunter differs both in its subject and in its execution from the Memoir of Mr. Taylor. It is something more than a tribute of traditional respect to the

\* The calm energy of Mr. Fairfax's character is strikingly expressed in the portrait with which Mr. Taylor has embellished his volume, and which forms a pleasing contrast to the benignant sweetness of the youthful likeness of his friend Meadows, which faces the title-page.

memory of an honoured ancestor. It embraces in the biography of an individual, a comprehensive survey of the social movements of a most remarkable period over a very extensive district; and upon this object, so important from its close connection with the historical development of the popular life of England, it brings to bear a mass of minute and curious erudition, and a profusion of genealogical information, with a precision and a luminousness that are truly surprising. It has also a higher merit; it penetrates into the spirit of the time, and with singular picturesqueness of touch, sets it vividly before the mental eye: and though we are unable to embrace many of the apparent conclusions of the writer, we can heartily sympathize with the mellowed kindness of feeling which, with a few exceptions, to be noticed hereafter, pervades the work; nor can we withhold our admiration from that sustained thoughtfulness and vigilance of spirit, by which great principles and vital questions, held constantly in view, are made to illuminate, and render interesting, an accumulation of details that would else be wearisome and obscure.—It supplies an important addition to the Ecclesiastical History of England—and in a department respecting which great misapprehensions prevail, and for which the materials are not easily accessible to the generality of readers. It carries us into scenes, differing, in not a few particulars, from those in which the Suffolk Bartholomeans were placed—amidst the mountains of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the moors and mosses of South Lancashire, peopled by a race whose characteristic intelligence and energy have made their region for centuries the great seat of manufacturing industry. Among such men was the subject of Mr. Hunter's book born and bred; and among such he laboured and died. His mind, practical, resolute, and persevering, was well adapted to the work which he had to perform. If he did not possess the cultivation and refinement of a Meadows or a Fairfax, who ministered among the rural squires and yeomanry of Suffolk, he had the tempered vigour and boldness of character, which were needed for a wayfaring preacher of Christian truth and righteousness among the bleak wilds of the English Apennine, and which met with congenial elements in the shrewd and enterprising population of the North.

Oliver Heywood was born at Little Lever, in the neighbourhood of Bolton, in 1630. The principles of the Reformation had excited a great ferment among the inhabitants of South Lancashire, where many of the principal gentry still adhered, as they do now, to the religion of their forefathers, and inflamed by their opposition the zeal of those who had become Pro-

testants. To this latter party the father and grandfather of Mr. Heywood belonged ; so that he imbibed the spirit of a deep and earnest Puritanism from his earliest years. His mother in particular was distinguished for her religious strictness and fervour, and was a great frequenter and encourager of the lectures or week-day preachings, which the Puritan clergy had established in all parts of the country. Her energetic, decided character, had doubtless a great effect on that of her son. The mind of the whole nation was at that time in a state of strange excitement. Religious enthusiasm was increased by zeal for civil liberty, and the two elements worked together in a way that is difficult to conceive in the present condition of society. Some graphic sketches are given from Mr. Heywood's Diary :—

“ I can well remember that, when at my father's house they had a private fast, when I was a child, they set me a singing about the door, that when the apparitor came he might not hear them pray.”—“ Many days of prayer have I known my father keep among God's people : yea, I remember a whole night wherein he, Dr. Bradshaw, Adam Fearnside, Thomas Crompton, and several more excellent men, did pray all night in a parlour at Ralph Whittall's, as I remember upon occasion of King Charles the First demanding the five members of the House of Commons. Such a night of prayers, tears and groans I was never present at in all my life : the case was extraordinary, and the work extraordinary.”—p. 33.

His father, intending him for the Church, afforded him the means of a fair classical education ; and in 1647 he was admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge. Puritanism was then all-powerful ; and his studies at the University were influenced by the predominant spirit of the time. Learning on its own account was less an object with him, than the preparation of his mind, by suitable religious exercises, for the duties of a pastor and preacher. He says of himself (p. 46), “ my time and thoughts were more employed in practical divinity ; and experimental truths were more vital and vivifical to my soul. I preferred Perkins, Bolton, Preston, Sibbes,” (popular Puritan authors of that time,) “ far above Aristotle, Plato, Magirus, and Wendeton, though I despise no laborious authors in these subservient studies.” He was unsuccessful in an attempt to gain a scholarship. On quitting Cambridge, he returned to his native county, where Presbyterianism was already legally established according to an ordinance of the Parliament—the only part of England, excepting London and its vicinity, where this was the case ; a fact that may be considered an evidence of the

strength of Puritan principles in those northern parts. Independency had also taken root in the same soil; and many of Mr. Heywood's friends and associates were of that persuasion. In 1650, he accepted a call to the ministerial office, in the chapelry of Coley, in the parish of Halifax, among a rude mountain race, who down to the very period of Mr. Heywood's settlement, retained a practice not much unlike the Lynch law of the Western States of North America. These rough mountaineers it was the business of his life to instruct and humanize. Shortly afterwards he married a daughter of Mr. Angier, an eminent Puritan minister of Denton, near Dukinfield, whose lectures his mother had often taken him in his childhood and youth to hear. He was ordained in the Parish Church of Bury, some years after he had been in the exercise of the pastoral office. Like all the Puritan ministers, he was very particular about the admission of communicants to the Lord's Supper; and his rigid notions of duty in this respect involved him in some unpleasant disputes with his parishioners, the over-strict Independents on the one hand, and those who were accustomed to the laxer practice of the Episcopalians on the other, giving him equal annoyance. He persevered against opposition in what he deemed right, asserting, it is probable, too high notions of ministerial authority for the principles that were becoming general under the Protectorate. The same resistance hindered him from carrying out a complete system of Presbyterian discipline in his parish. Notwithstanding these differences, he continued warmly attached to his people, and declined two advantageous offers of a removal to York and to Preston.

Though he seems to have taken comparatively little interest in public affairs, and to have been wholly engrossed by the duties of his sacred office—with the Presbyterians generally of that date, he was attached to the monarchy and a church established by law; and viewed with aversion and jealousy the ascendancy of Cromwell and the Independents. When in 1659 Sir George Booth made a rising in favour of the royal family along the borders of Cheshire and Lancashire, many of the Presbyterian ministers were implicated in the transaction; and Oliver Heywood did not escape suspicion, but was apprehended as one disaffected to the government, by Col. Lilburne. On the restoration of Charles II., his rejoicing was hearty and unfeigned; though he very soon learned on how treacherous a foundation his hopes were built. Conventicles were soon prohibited; he was forbidden to administer the rite of baptism; and was summoned before the Consistory Court at York for refusing to



use the book of Common Prayer. The account of his feelings on one of his visits about this time to York, is very expressive both of the piety and of the prejudice of the old Puritan character :—

“ My heart was much grieved when I saw the fond way of worship used by them, as I passed by the door, where they were then at work. Divers I saw with white surplices, and red tippets upon their backs ; their worshipping towards the east at singing *Gloria Patri* ; their singing the Lord’s Prayer and Creed ; and resounding of the organs ; all which they use : though I stayed not then to see and hear all, yet I saw enough to make me hate vain inventions, and to love God’s perfect word and pure worship better ; to pity and pray for them that mangle and trifle with the holy things of God, and turn them into a mere formality ; to desire after and delight in the pure and wholesome waters of the sanctuary, and worshipping my God in spirit and in truth.”—p. 132.

These preparatory measures of persecution were shortly followed by the Act of Uniformity, which came into operation August 24th, 1662, on the feast-day of St. Bartholomew, and which required, among other things, as the condition of retaining ecclesiastical benefices, the abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant, and the re-ordination by a bishop of those who had received only Presbyterian ordination. With such terms Mr. Heywood found it impossible to comply ; and indeed they seem to have been framed on purpose to prevent the compliance of conscientious men. He retired from his public pulpit at Coley ; though he still continued to preach, and for doing so was repeatedly excommunicated. Excluded from the Church, he travelled about from place to place, assembling crowds of devoted hearers in the houses of the gentry and principal yeomanry—whose zeal and interest were exalted to the highest pitch by the difficulty and often the danger of attending the ministration of a venerated pastor. These stolen privileges, resorted to in retired spots and sometimes under the shelter of the night, were attempted to be suppressed by the passing, first of the Conventicle, and afterwards of the Five Mile, Act. By the operation of the last, Mr. Heywood was compelled to quit his home and his family, and become a wanderer in the land, dependant on the hospitality of friends, and exercising his ministerial functions, which he held himself bound by his ordination vow to continue, how and where he could. By this necessity the principles of Nonconformity were more widely diffused, and the seeds were sown in many places of future congregations. With great beauty and pathos he has recorded his feelings, during one of these pilgri-

riages, when he was crossing the hills which divide Yorkshire and Lancashire :—

“Methinks this day of our scattering is a lively emblem of our state ; and I could not but think of it as I travelled from mine own house to sojourn ; for all day it hath been terrible storms of hail and snow set on with a violent wind, yet it hath cleared presently, and after a short intermission of beautiful sunshine, suddenly overcast and darkening and snowing fast ; yet now from four o’clock till night very clear. Just such is the life of a Christian ; but of this we may say, *Nubecula est citò transitura*, and It’s but a storm against the wall, and The end of a godly man is peace.”—p. 174.

Although the principal supporters of his ministry lay in the middle and industrious classes, yet he had not a few friends among the higher orders of society. We find him during one of his peregrinations about this time, in company with his father-in-law Mr. Angier, hospitably entertained in the houses of some of the Cheshire gentry, and being requested to conduct the family devotions at Sir Thomas Stanley’s, of Alderley, resisting a strong temptation “to study and speak handsome words in respect of the company,” which was large. Having lost his first wife, he contracted a second marriage with Mrs. Abigail Crompton. Such was the inhuman severity of the penal laws against Nonconformists, that they could not be strictly enforced ; and the Lord Lieutenants of the three counties of York, Derby and Lancaster, where the Dissenters were very numerous—the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Devonshire and Derby—were disposed to make their operation as lenient as possible. Nevertheless Mr. Heywood did not escape an imprisonment at Leeds, and the distraining of his goods for a penalty which he had incurred under the Conventicle Act. When Charles II. issued an indulgence to Nonconformists in virtue of his dispensing power, he proceeded to fit up the largest room in the house to which he had recently removed at Northowram in the chapelry of Coley, for the performance of public worship—his mind being too exclusively intent on the work of the ministry, which with him outweighed every other consideration, to consider the political consequences that might result from this exertion of the royal prerogative. Here he gathered a church, and entered into a solemn covenant with his people ; and having been joined by some congregationalists, endeavoured to introduce an ecclesiastical order and discipline. The chances of reconciliation with the Establishment every day becoming more remote and improbable, Dissent assumed a more settled character, and measures were now taken for preserving it in

future generations as a permanent element in the constitution of English Society. Of these, one of the most important was a provision for the suitable education of Ministers, who were excluded by their principles from the National Universities. Many of the ejected clergy were well qualified by their attainments for the office of Tutors; and a contemporary of Mr. Heywood,—Mr. Frankland—conducted a Theological Academy with great reputation for a number of years at different places in the North of England.

The Test and Corporation Acts imposed new restrictions on Dissenters, to which however they submitted the more readily, from their being obviously designed to exclude the Catholics from civil rights. Notwithstanding these discouragements, Mr. Heywood determined to bring up his two sons to the Ministry, and so to perpetuate the race of Nonconformist divines. With the same view he appears to have been much engaged about this period with his brother Ministers in ordinations in different parts of the country; and of the form and order of these services, as well as of the different light in which they were viewed by the Presbyterians and the Independents, very full and particular information is furnished from the diaries of Mr. Heywood, which makes an important addition to our knowledge of the Ecclesiastical History of the times. See in particular chapter xiii. under the year 1678.

The account of his journey to London towards the close of 1682 exhibits too curious a picture of the state of society and the mode of travelling in those days, to be omitted. He set out with some friends who had requested him to accompany them, from the neighbourhood of Rotherham.

“The ladies rode in the carriage, the gentlemen on horseback. They reached Nottingham that day, when Mr. Heywood visited Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Reynolds, the two inseparable friends, who were both ejected in that town. Here they dismissed the private carriage, and got into Mr. Hawkins’ stage-coach. They reached Leicester the first day, where they slept. On the second day they reached Northampton, and stayed to sleep there. To Dunstable was the third day’s journey; and they arrived in London on the fourth day. The coach took them to the Anchor in Smithfield.”—p. 317.

The licences founded on the King’s Indulgence were at length withdrawn. It was evidently the wish of the High Church party to extinguish the rising spirit of the Dissenters: and though Mr. Heywood still continued to preach, it was amidst straights and perils which depressed and saddened his spirit. The following record of his thoughts conveys a striking picture

of the state of mind of a primitive Nonconformist, under the actual pressure of the sufferings which his conscientious determination had incurred.

“Dost thou repent that thou didst not conform, when fair offers were made thee at St. Martin’s in York, many years ago, when thou wert under violent persecutions by the Spiritual Court? Dost thou not envy them that live in pomp and prosperity, and wish thyself in their condition? My soul shall answer, and upon good advertisement write it down this 3rd of December 1683, above twenty-one years after our doleful turning out of our public station; that I am so well satisfied in my refusing subscription and conformity to the terms enjoined by law for the exercise of my public ministry, that, notwithstanding all the taunts, rebukes and affronts I have had from men, the weary travels many thousand miles, the hazardous meetings, plunderings, imprisonings, exercise of faith and patience about worldly subsistence, banishings from my own home, coming home with fears in the night,—which are the least part of my affliction under this dispensation,—for banishing from my people, stopping my mouth, which hath occasioned many sad temptations, discouragements, lest God should be angry with me, lay me aside and make no use of me, which have caused many sad thoughts, griefs, and scorplings of heart—notwithstanding all this, I am so fully satisfied in my conscience with my Nonconformity as a minister, that it is the way of God, and I have so much peace in my spirit that what I do is for the main, according to the word, that if I knew of all the troubles before hand, and were to begin again, I would persist in this course to my dying day; and, if God call me to it, seal it with my blood. For to me full Conformity would be sinful, and we must resist to death, striving against sin.”—p. 325.

For acting in the spirit here expressed, he incurred the penalties of the law. In January 1685, he was convicted at the Wakefield Sessions of what was called a riotous assembly at his house, and sentenced pay a fine of fifty pounds, as well as find sureties for his good behaviour, which meant abstinence from preaching. As he refused compliance with both these conditions, he was committed a prisoner to York Castle, where he remained in confinement till the accession of James II., which occurred in the ensuing spring. His wife joined him in his confinement. Here is a picture from his own hand of their prison life:

“(1.) After our rising, we kneeled down; I went to prayer with my wife; (2.) She in her closet, I in my chamber, went to secret prayer alone; (3.) then I read a chapter in the Greek Testament, while I took a pipe; (4.) then read a chapter in the Old Testament with Poole’s Annotations; (5.) then writ a little here or elsewhere; (6.) at ten o’clock I read a chapter in Proverbs, went to prayer with my wife, as family prayer; (7.) then writ in some book or treatise I composed till dinner; (8.) after dinner, Mr. Whitaker (a fellow-prisoner for Non-



conformity) and I read our turns for an hour in Fox's Acts and Monuments, last edition; (9.) then went to my chamber; if my wife was absent, I spent an hour in secret prayer; God helped usually; (10.) after supper we read in Book of Martyrs; study, go to prayer; we read in Baxter's Paraphrase on the New Testament."—p. 331.

After his release, he had no hesitation in accepting the liberty of conscience which James granted through his dispensing power, though it embraced the Catholics as well as the Protestant Dissenters; and it was during this interval, that being led by circumstances to look on Nonconformity as a permanent condition, he erected with the assistance of his friends, a Meeting-House at Northowram; to this he afterwards attached a School, which he persuaded Lord Wharton, a great friend of the Dissenters, to endow. The position of Nonconformists was greatly altered by the Toleration Act: the different classes of them were placed on the same footing, and legally distinguished from the members of the Established Church. A new spirit sprang up under these circumstances—more calm, moderate and rational—which soon visibly affected the style of preaching and the tone of theological opinion. Traces of these innovations became perceptible before Mr. Heywood's removal from the world; and with the natural predilections of an old man who had struggled hard for what he deemed the truth, he lamented the decline of the ancient orthodoxy. During the comparatively tranquil period which elapsed from the Revolution till his death in 1702, he gathered in the harvest of a long previous course of conscientious toils and sacrifices—taking an active share in the settlement of neighbouring congregations, and enjoying general attachment and reverence. He declined two invitations—one to become the Minister of the congregation assembling in Cross Street Manchester, and another to succeed Dr. Annesley in London. In his latter years—though his means, whether derived from his private fortune or from the emoluments of his ministry, were but narrow—he exercised in his lowly dwelling at Northowram, the generous hospitality of a primitive bishop—every Sunday, on which the Lord's Supper was administered, entertaining at his own table or in his kitchen numbers who attended his services.—Such was the course of his laborious and humble, but, viewed in reference to its influences, not unimportant, life. He and his contemporaries were the founders of a new condition in English Society, the effects of which have been deep and lasting, and are far from being yet exhausted. "There is a traditionary remembrance of him," says his biographer, "through the whole Nonconforming body in the West Riding of Yorkshire and in Lancashire, as of

a man of eminent piety, great exertion, and uncommon usefulness." He had a younger brother, Nathaniel, to whom he was much attached; and who after being settled for some years as a Presbyterian Minister at Ormskirk, was ejected under the Act of Uniformity. From this younger brother, that branch of the family which is at present represented by Sir Benjamin Heywood of Claremont, is descended. Oliver Heywood's second son, Eliezer, became the pastor of a congregation at Dronfield in Derbyshire; and from him, through a son of the same name, who was also a Presbyterian minister, is derived the branch which settled at Mansfield and Nottingham.

The distinguishing qualities of Oliver Heywood's character were fervent piety, strong principle, and great energy and decision in action. Of learning, in the strict sense of the word, he does not appear to have possessed much; and for the higher speculations of a philosophical mind he had evidently little taste. He was distinguished by that warmth of affection and devotional ardour, and that eagerness for direct practical results, which are the foundations of an effective popular eloquence; and his discourses, particularly under the exciting circumstances in which many of them were delivered, must have pierced to the very heart's core of his audience.\* This power of working on the conscience—regardless of the graces of art or the refinements of philosophy—was indeed the distinguishing excellence of the old Puritan preaching. Vital, practical religion was the one great object aimed at; if that were obtained, the pulpit was supposed to have done its work. Mr. Heywood has described the general character of the early Presbyterian ministry in some words which he applied to himself: *Nullus sum in prophetiis, et puer in dogmaticis, et nolens in polemicis, sed volens in practicis*. He published several works on practical religion, of which an account with extracts is given in Mr. Hunter's memoir. These were collected, and given to the world in an uniform edition, some years ago.

The new form of character introduced into English Society by the secession of the Bartholomean divines from the National Church, the new interests which it has created, and the effects by which it has been followed on the religious and political condition of the country—furnish a theme of curious and interesting speculation, in which many deep questions, not easily disposed of, are involved. The distinguishing quality of

\* Mr. Hunter with great felicity (p. 321) describes Mr. Heywood's eloquence, as having "a certain richness that may be resembled to that of the cloth of gold of our ancestors, his own strong vernacular English closely interwoven with the golden threads of the language of Holy writ."

the old Puritan mind was an intense spirituality—resulting from that vehement reaction against the externality and formalism of the Catholic hierarchy, in which the first outbreak of the Reformation had its source, and which was prolonged in opposition to those modifications of Protestantism, that were not deemed sufficiently purged from the dregs of Rome. With this feeling, a boundless reverence for the Scriptures, as the only unfailing rule of faith and practice, and a distrust of the independent lights of science and human reason, very naturally associated themselves among the earnest and practical commonalty of England. To their case the refinements of the higher speculation were wholly inapplicable. The religious instinct had been strongly awakened in their hearts; it had become a craving want, an ever-present reality:—and when they applied to their hereditary teachers for relief, they were mocked by the offer of a soulless form, or some cold abstraction of scholastic subtilty. Casting off the authority, on which they had once leaned, they felt the want of some other in its place; and they embraced the Word of God as its substitute, with all the ardour and the confidence which a new and untried liberty is fitted to inspire—without perceiving that, according to their views of the Scriptures, unless they were content to introduce an universal conflict and anarchy, they could no more dispense than the Catholics, with some final authority, to guide them to the truth, and make it binding on themselves and others. From this strange intermixture of principles, worked up into fanaticism by the excitements of their age, the excellencies and the faults of the early Puritans equally arose. To it we must ascribe their rigid and intolerant spirit—the gloom of their piety—their general want of enlargement of mind—their presumptuous reliance on particular providences—and their irrational hostility to innocent festivities and the becoming embellishment of public worship; but to it we must also refer—their unbending firmness of principle and sanctity of life—the strength of their devotional sentiment and their warm domestic affections—and that high-minded conscientiousness which kept them apart from the world, ‘a peculiar people, zealous of good works,’ through times of extraordinary temptation and persecution, and fitted them and their descendants to be the faithful guardians of civil and religious freedom. Both these aspects must be kept in view, in estimating the historical significance and social worth of the ancient Puritans. It seems a fixed condition of the divine government, that no good should enter into the affairs of this world, pure and unmixed,—without the accompaniment of some alloy to temper its ethereal

quality, and procure it a readier admission and more direct operation among the grosser elements of our imperfect nature. Passion, obstinacy and wrong-headedness—much that is wild and extreme—are often needed to break up the hard soil of sensuality and indifference, and open a way for great and noble principles into the soul. It is perhaps so ordered, that we cannot have one without the other. If the higher point of view, from which we can now survey the struggles of the past, enables us more clearly to discern the mistakes and the follies of our forefathers—it is to lose the benefit of that more enlarged field of vision, not also to discern, blended with those mistakes and follies, and at the time perhaps inseparable from them—the vital questions of truth and liberty and a progressive civilization—and the earnest, though it may be partial and one-sided, enunciation of principles, out of which the great problems of human happiness and social tranquillity have to be gradually evolved.

The immediate duties of Dissenters, from the age of the Puritans to the present day, have varied with the state of the times; but the interests of public liberty, of practical religion and of theological truth, may be regarded as peculiarly the sacred and precious trust confided to them by their ancestors. With these interests the cause of general knowledge and of popular education is almost identical. With what fidelity the Dissenters have executed this trust, under all the social disadvantages they have had to contend against, the history of the middle classes, during the last century, especially in the chief provincial towns, would furnish the best proof. Although dependent on private Academies for their education, there have never been wanting, at any time, among the Ministers of the Dissenters, some learned and able cultivators of divine truth, as well as of general science and philosophy; nor, considering their numbers and their circumstances, have they ever failed to furnish their due proportion of elegant and instructive writers in the various walks of literature. Their deficiencies, their errors and their prejudices, of which, like all men, they have their share, must be ascribed to the narrowness and confinement of their social position, and not to their principles. The competition for wealth and high station, which has sprung up with the rapid development of our manufacturing and commercial interests, and the wider door which successive reforms have opened to political aspirants of all sects, combined with the other innovations of the age—have contributed much to break up that quiet and respectable aristocracy of education and character, which once constituted the strength of the



Nonconformist party in England, and to bring a new set of actors, more bold, active and enterprising, on the scene—with what effect on the condition of society and the highest interests of truth and genuine liberty, it is as yet premature to determine;—principle now, as at all times, can be our only safe guide;—but there are not a few, the recollections of whose childhood will carry them back into a state of things described in the following passage with a happiness of phrase and kindness of feeling, which do credit to the heart of its author:—

“The second and third race of the Presbyterian ministry of England is a body of men to whom justice has not yet been done by the pen of any writer. They were worthy to be held in much honour; men who had dropped what was repulsive in the old Puritan character, but retaining some of its best characteristics—pious, humble and benevolent, seekers of truth and lovers of virtue, friends of peace and freedom; while among them shine a few names eminently distinguished by those higher and rarer qualities which command the admiration of those who have little to bestow on men whose best praise it is, that they walk with God in the paths of unostentatious usefulness.”\*

We have clearly expressed our high sense of the value of Mr. Hunter's book, and our sympathy in many respects with the spirit which it breathes: fidelity to our own convictions compels us to record our dissent from some of its reasonings and some of its sentiments. One general objection indeed we might advance against the tone of the entire work; that it is too distrustful and apologetic—that it pleads the cause of the Puritans, as of men who were engaged in a questionable struggle, who must be excused and treated with levity from reference to their circumstances, but who had risen up against an authority that is in the main to be recognized as legitimate. According to our conceptions, this view relinquishes the only ground which gives worth and significance to the Puritan cause, and on which its historical position can be justified. Either they had got hold of a great fundamental principle, in their assertion of the immunity of conscience from human tribunals—however dimly they might discern its limits and its applications, (for these must always be wrought out by experience)—which it was their special mission to establish in Society, and which they were led on by the course of events to carry out into consequences little thought of by them at first; or else, they were rebels against the constituted order of things—perverse and obstinate enthusiasts, who set up their private

\* Life of Oliver Heywood, p. 428.

convictions against the established usages of a long antiquity—whose conduct admits of no excuse, and who ought to have been put down at once by the arm of authority. If the great idea of *right*, in the solemn relations of the individual soul with its Creator,—expressed and attested as it was in the chief representatives of Puritanism by an unsullied sanctity of life—does not furnish a valid justification of their cause, we are unable to see on what grounds it can be placed. That the early Puritans stopped short of the legitimate application of their principles, and were disposed to make *their own* idea a standard for *other* minds, proves indeed that they were unable to embrace the whole extent of the cause in which they were embarked, and were fitted to do only half the work which they had begun; but it does not prove, that they had not set out in the proper direction, or that they were not justified as far as they proceeded in it. To claim superior merit for the Presbyterian above the Independent party, as we gather from several passages in Mr. Hunter's book, that he is disposed to do (see particularly Chap. iv.,)—for their efforts to set up by the force of law their own system of Church government in room of that which they had overthrown, appears to us to shift off their cause from the broad basis of natural justice and equity, and to place it where it is least defensible, in the very narrowness and exclusiveness of their views—in their chance of a selfish triumph amidst the conflict of social forces. The moment a voice was raised against the order already constituted, and conscience was pleaded against further submission to it—a principle was recognized, the further applications of which could not reasonably be denied, till they had found their limits in the immutable conditions of society and the human mind. For the Presbyterians to set up the pretext of law on behalf of their own system, and in bar of the claims of the Independents or any other section of the Puritans, was to seal the condemnation of themselves, and justify the measures of the party already in power.

Another point on which we find ourselves at variance with Mr. Hunter, respects the nature and authority of Ordination. To a service of this kind, as forming a part of the social administration of religion, we have no objection; and with much that he says concerning the desirableness of some arrangements for securing competence of knowledge, and ability, and general respectability of character in persons of *every* description, whether civil or ecclesiastical, who undertake the responsible office of guiding and instructing others, we are strongly inclined to agree: but from the grounds on which he bases these opinions

in regard to candidates for the ministerial office, we must altogether dissent. Lest we should unintentionally mistake his views, we will lay before our readers the passages in which they are contained.

“ On the question—by whom the Ordination should be performed, whether by bishops, as successors of the apostles, and a distinct order, or lay presbyters,—I do not now enter, further than to observe, that the publicity of the Presbyterian ordinations, while the Presbyterian discipline existed, seems to have been a favourable circumstance, both as respected the candidate and the people, whose hearts were then open to receive instruction on the expectations they had a right to entertain from the person then admitted into the office of minister, and on the other hand of the duties which they owed him: nor would the ceremony lose anything of its solemnity by the presence of so many reverend ministers, some of them truly *πρεσβύτεροι*, standing on the brink of the grave, delivering, as it were, the torch of Christian truth to younger hands, to be by them held out in the world and transmitted in due time to another generation. I know not how others may think of it, but I have never so strong an impression of the reality of the history on which our faith rests as when partaking of the Supper of the Lord, and thinking of myself as one in the long succession of people who have sat down at that table even from the beginning: but I question whether the unbroken series of ordained ministers of the Church is not even a still more striking and forcible proof. We ought surely to have paused and reflected before we broke this polished chain of evidence.”—pp. 97, 98.

“ In its foundation the congregation of Northowram was purely Presbyterian, the pastor taking no authority from the people to teach and to preach, but receiving it by devolution from his fathers in the ministry at whose hands he had received ordination. Neither were there deacons appointed with co-ordinate authority with the pastor, with whom alone it remained to accept into his congregation those whom he thought proper to admit, and to regulate the times, the manner and order of the public ministrations as seemed to himself to tend most to edification.”—pp. 237-8.

Again, (p. 305,) in speaking of an Ordination, and with implied approval of the Presbyterian principle:—

“ A difficulty presented itself; Mr. Jollie” (an Independent Minister) “ wishing that the people of his society should express their desire of dedicating him to God. Here was a principal difference between the Presbyterians and Independents brought into question. Mr. Frankland was against it, ‘ as having no warrant, and importing some power.’ In the end it was not conceded to, and the service was conducted in the usual manner.”

Lastly in a note, p. 355, the principle so explicitly stated in the foregoing extracts is implied in the comparison of the

revived services of the modern English Presbyterians with the *genuine* ordinations of their forefathers.

If we have not misapprehended the writer, we have here an express assertion of ministerial power and authority, independent of the people, derived through an unbroken chain of genuine ordinations from the apostolic times; in other words, we have the sacerdotal principle brought in, as an essential part of the outward administration of Christianity; so that Puseyism is not so remote from Presbyterianism as some have supposed. The remark that most obviously suggests itself in reply to these views, is this: that nowhere in the teachings of Christ himself is there the trace of a provision for any such ministerial power subsisting in unbroken succession through all times; that the commission to his disciples and the twelve to preach and baptize, was limited to the circumstances in which they were called immediately to act; and that the spirit of his religion, as it was directly levelled against all existing priesthoods, discovered in its earliest and purest manifestation no tendency to erect a new one in their stead. The dispositions made by Paul and the other apostles for the settlement of the first churches, grew out of the exigencies of their situation: and with the exception of Paul, it is no very easy matter to show what share the several apostles took in the founding of churches, and what kind of authority they possessed. It would be difficult to prove, that the spiritual endowments of which various species existed in the earliest societies of Christians, were anything more than various measures of strong religious susceptibility, accompanied by corresponding gifts of prayer and popular eloquence, which are always found such powerful instruments in the propagation of a rising religion; in place of which, as they gradually died away with the settlement and consolidation of the churches, the more uniform and regular administration of bishops and presbyters, assisted by deacons, was introduced.

Even were it possible to establish the fact of a formal transmission of authority from the apostles to the rulers and teachers of the earliest churches, within the limits embraced by the New Testament records—how could we prove, that the chain was preserved unbroken through the obscure and uncertain period immediately following the apostolic age, of which such scanty and dubious evidence exists?—And for the establishment of an authority so vast and momentous, only the fullest and most unquestionable proof is admissible. When the church at length emerges into the clear light of history, we see it gradually assuming an organization of which the state of society and the wants of the age sufficiently explain the origin: but this itself



refutes the claim of a divine institution, and shows that the church for the time being, understanding by that term the whole body of believers, felt itself fully competent to make rules for the appointment of its ministers, and the perpetuation of its services. We know from the history of the following centuries, of which the schism of the Donatists, not unlike the great Puritan struggle, may furnish a good example—that it was not without the strongest opposition, that the clergy succeeded in establishing an authority independent of the popular will.

In the satisfaction of carrying back the thoughts from the present observance of a Christian rite, through the many past generations which have uniformly observed it, there is an amiableness of feeling expressed with his usual good taste by Mr. Hunter, in which we can sincerely participate: but we are at a loss to conceive what sort of evidence can be conveyed by that feeling, either of the truth of narratives, or of the obligation of observances, (except out of compliance with established usage, to which, under certain restrictions, we do not object,) or still more, of the independent authority of some men to teach others. The admission of such a principle as appears to be maintained in the foregoing extracts, would justify the irresponsible jurisdiction of an order of men, which, wherever it has been allowed to arise, is shown by universal history to have been opposed in its general and permanent influence to the improvement and progress of the human race; if consistently acted upon, it would have suppressed all the movements by which new impulse and vigour have been imparted to the moral aspirations of men,—it would have put down Unitarianism, Methodism, Puritanism, and the Reformation itself: for it is a remarkable fact, that all those changes in the spiritual condition of society, which a retrospective survey cannot but regard as progressive steps of advancement, have proceeded, with scarce a single exception, not from the men who were recognised as the constitutional depositories of authority, but from individuals in lower situations, who spoke and acted from their own individual convictions of the right and the true.—We feel ourselves forced, therefore, to adopt the conclusion, that the will of the people, expressed in reference to their spiritual wants, whether it be shaped and impelled by strong simultaneous sympathy, or be voluntarily submitted to the direction of some great commanding genius, is the sole ultimate source of all ecclesiastical power. Nor does this opinion imply the approval of anarchy, and insubordination to legitimate authority; for the same will which creates a power, can with reference to an end

to be accomplished, define the limits of its future operation; all association from its very nature involves a certain restriction of individual liberty; and it is surely unreasonable to quote the disorders, attending the first outbreak of an imperfectly recovered liberty, or still clinging to the depressed, uneasy and unsettled state of things, which has been the fruit of its partial realization—as the plea for an authority which has never existed without being abused, and which, had it never been resisted, would have inflicted far greater evils than those of which we now complain.

On points, however, of this speculative nature we are unwilling further to dilate: in this frank declaration of our own opinions, we are conscious of no want of respect for the character and talents of the learned author of the work before us.—But there is one part of his book from which our dissent must be rather more strongly expressed, and in which we *do* wish that the tone had been not altogether what it is:—we allude to his language respecting the other Puritan party, with which the Presbyterians were often in collision—that of the Independents; for, if we do not misapprehend it, it is hardly characterised by that spirit of candour and fairness which so honourably distinguishes the other portions of his work. We entirely agree with our author in condemning the temper and conduct which some of the modern Independents have manifested; we believe their proceedings have inflicted a blow on the strength and compactness of the old Nonconformist interest, from which they may themselves ultimately suffer. We concur also with him in preferring the distinguishing principle of the Presbyterians to that of the Independents, from the time when both took their course side by side along the depressed level of a tolerated Nonconformity. Neither have we any predilection for the interior organization of the Independent churches, or for the style of preaching and tone of theology which prevail in them. But considerations of this nature, and even strong convictions of the erroneousness of the fundamental doctrine of the original and consistent Independents, should not be allowed to influence—if we are right in supposing they have influenced—the conception of historical facts, or to infuse into the language applied to persons and parties of a distant date, a tincture of bitterness which belongs only to the excited feelings and contending interests of the present day. The following passages seem to us wanting in the writer's usual mildness and courtesy of spirit. Speaking of the Independents, he says, p. 59:—

“ Five ministers, all university-men, of these opinions, or opinions near allied to them, left England in or about 1632, and settled themselves in Holland, where was a universal toleration even at that early period. Their names were, Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Simpson, and Burroughs.”—“ In the Assembly of Divines, these men formed a compact and steady minority, agreeing with the rest in *every thing that tended to destruction*, but dividing against them when the object was to raise another national church in place of the Episcopal Church which was destroyed.”

P. 60 :—“ Before seven years had passed from the time when Episcopacy was abolished, the *sounder and more enlightened part* of the Puritan body found itself reduced to political insignificance: the king was put to death before their eyes, some of the most eminent persons belonging to them were forcibly driven from their places in parliament, and the whole power of the state had passed into the possession of a party whose leading principle in ecclesiastics was as opposite to theirs as was the principle of Episcopacy itself.

“ Thus it seems ever to be in political movements. They are begun by men well-intentioned, earnest and honest; an established order of things which they meant to improve is overturned and destroyed; and there arises not that beautiful fabric which they in their imaginations had contemplated, but some *unsightly building, full of strange and unclean beasts*, who find warmth and shelter in its precincts, and who not unfrequently sally forth to tread down and rend to pieces those well-meaning men who gave them power to do so.”

In the same spirit are the following passages, also applied to the Independents, p. 108 :—

“ Ill did the Presbyterians brook the ascendancy which the *less respectable* part of the Puritan body had thus gained in the state.”

P. 121 :—“ That the Presbyterians had failed, and only let in a body of *fanatics* and *usurpers*, is but the usual fate of well-meaning persons, who commit themselves to the chances of great political change.”

The effect of the Toleration Act is thus described, p. 358 :—

“ It fixed the Presbyterians for ever in the rank of sectaries, to *stand side by side* with the Independents, the Anabaptists, and the Quakers, men to whose distinguishing principles, if to nothing else, the Presbyterians had a *strong and not very unreasonable* aversion.”

The passages which we have marked in italics, convey to our minds an assumption of intellectual and social superiority on the part of the Presbyterians, and an impeachment of the character and principles of the Independents as a party, which are neither consistent with candour nor borne out by historical fact; and the expression of which we cannot but regret, since we think

it will impair the general acceptableness of a work in other respects admirable, and because it seems to carry the unhappy feelings of sectarian strife and jealousy into the calm regions of historical investigation. It is here more than implied—it is distinctly asserted—that the object of the Independents was purely destructive—that they were the less sound, less enlightened, and less respectable part of the Puritan body; they are indirectly compared to strange and unclean beasts, and classed with fanatics and usurpers; and it is even represented as something offensive to the delicacy and refinement of the Presbyterians, that they should be forced to take their position side by side with such low-bred and ignorant persons.

Now let us inquire, who were the leaders and representatives of the men of whom such evil things are predicated?—Clarendon, no partial witness, says of them,—“The Independents were more learned and rational than the Presbyterians; and, though they had not so great congregations of the common people, yet they infected, and were followed by, the most substantial and wealthy citizens, as well as by others of better condition:” and Baillie, the Scotch deputy, whose stiff Presbyterianism must have still more strongly prejudiced him against them, gives them this remarkable testimony: “Truly they speak much, and exceedingly well.”—“Truly if the cause were good, the men have plenty of learning, wit, eloquence, and, above all, boldness and stiffness, to make it out.”\* With these men, Whitlocke and Selden, though attached to Episcopacy, voted against the domineering projects of the Presbyterians. To them also belonged the Lord Brooke and the noble spirits of Milton and the younger Vane, with views, it may be, too refined and comprehensive for an immediate reduction to practice in the actual condition of society, but still aiming at great and glorious objects, and most assuredly neither less enlightened nor less respectable than Baxter himself. That follies and extravagancies resulted in some quarters from the first application of their principles—was an effect which they might deplore—which they did not sanction—which, relying on the essential soundness of their principles, they felt convinced time and the spirit of awakened improvement would itself correct. Milton, we know, augured good from the very multitude of sects and schisms. But fanaticism and want of enlightenment—at least as compared with the Presbyterian standard—can surely not be charged on such men as Owen, the Dean of Christ Church, learned and accomplished, the associate of scholars and gentlemen—as Howe,

\* Clarendon, Book X. Oxford edit. Baillie, vol. i. p. 401, quoted by Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 348.



Fellow of Magdalen—as the many excellent men who sought a peaceful worship according to their consciences, under the broad toleration of Holland—Dr. William Ames, better known by his Latin name Amesius, who filled for many years, with high reputation, the Chair of Divinity at Franeker—Burroughs, one of the dissenting brethren of the Assembly of Divines, who expressed the same catholic spirit that was afterwards embraced by the amiable and pious Watts, also an Independent, by inscribing over his study-door, “*Opinionum varietas et opinantium unitas non sunt असुसता*” \*—or the venerable Robinson of Leyden, who on parting with a portion of his flock for New England, conjured them not to abide by the standards of Luther, or Calvin, or Zwingle, but to trust that fresh truth would yet break out of God’s word.—If we look to the men who have worked out these principles in the New World, under all the disadvantages of a recently-settled country, and of remoteness from the sources of European cultivation, we find them honourably distinguished by a zeal for intellectual and literary culture, and both the orthodox and the liberal sections of the Congregationalist churches adorned by the names of men of learning and eloquence, good scholars, and eloquent writers—Channing, Dewey, Norton, Moses Stewart, and the accomplished traveller and divine, Robinson. With regard to the political principles of the Independents, Mr. Hallam observes (Const. Hist. Engl. vol. ii. p. 270, note), “that Neal seems to have proved that as a body they were not systematically adverse to monarchy.”

It is not our intention to become the advocates of the Independents as a party, though we think they were nearer the truth in their views of the religious constitution of society than the Presbyterians: we merely wished to express our own sense of

\* The principles of the Independents are thus stated by Burroughs in a communication made to the assembly of Divines in 1645; “If their congregations might not be exempted from that coercive power of the *Classes*; if they might not have liberty to govern themselves in their own way, as long as they behaved peaceably towards the Civil Magistrate, they were resolved to suffer, or go to some other place of the world, where they might enjoy their liberty. But while men think there is no way of peace, but by forcing all to be of the same mind, while they think the Civil Sword is an ordinance of God to determine all controversies of divinity, and that it must needs be attended with fines and imprisonment to the disobedient; while they apprehend there is no medium between a strict uniformity and a general confusion of all things; while these sentiments prevail, there must be a base subjection of men’s consciences to slavery, a suppression of much truth and great disturbances in the Christian world.”—For our parts we rejoice in such sentiments as these, and cannot trace in them any vestige of fanaticism; we think it would have been well for the Presbyterians, if they had embraced them. Baxter used to say, if all Presbyterians had been like Marshall, and all Independents like Burroughs, their differences might easily have been compromised. See Neal’s Hist. Puritans, pp: 210, 256.

what is just and fair towards them. We thankfully accept from them that portion of truth, which they were the means of bringing into view, and introducing into the world. Had Cromwell lived, it is possible that his vigorous mind might have constructed out of the fragments of the old ecclesiastical system, some scheme of religious polity by which the benefits of a complete and equal toleration would have been reconciled with the order and progressive improvement of society and the interests of education and learning. To such a result the wishes and principles of the best men of his party strongly tended. But of this we can now only speak as a possibility.

An impartial student of these troubled times is unable to sympathise entirely with any of the great religious parties by which they were distracted. They were all in turn exclusive, violent, and inconsistent; carried beyond reason and justice by passion and interest, and drawn into error by their narrow and literal mode of interpreting scripture, and their equal presumption in claiming a *jus divinum* for their respective systems of Church government. The Independent principle of Church communion was narrow and exclusive and liable to great abuse, and founded, as it seems to us, on a false conception of the operation of Christianity on the human mind; and in the absolute and unqualified disclaimer by this party of all connection between civil and spiritual powers, they seem to have overlooked the unavoidable intermixture of religious influences with secular affairs, and the utter impossibility of withdrawing the outward institutions of religion, involved in the very idea of public worship and instruction especially when they have grown up into vigour, and exercise a great power on manners and opinions—from all controul and inspection of the Civil Magistrate. The modern Independents have proved by their acts, that they know there is, and must be, such a connection—and that religious institutions in the present world cannot be wholly spiritual. The difficulty is, to find the exact limits of the two powers, where they may subsist by the side of each other for their common strength and advantage, without mutual interference and invasion, or injustice to any class in the State. This is a problem, which has not yet been solved. “*Quelque chose manque,*” says Guizot (*Cours d’Histoire Moderne, 12<sup>e</sup> Leçon*), “*dans la plupart des pays réformés, à la bonne organisation de la Société intellectuelle, à l’action régulière des opinions anciennes, générales. On n’a pas su concilier les droits et les besoins de la tradition avec ceux de la liberté; et la cause en a été sans aucun doute dans cette circonstance, que la Réforme n’a pleinement compris et accepté ni ses principes ni ses effets.*”—Experiments of different forms of

government are now being made on a vast scale, of which Prussia and the United States of America may be considered as the extreme limits ; and the results obtained may help to determine the problem of the mutual relation of the central power of society and individual action.

Here is a wide field of inquiry, which has of late been little cultivated, and to which we earnestly wish the thoughtful and philosophical would direct their attention. On some of the most important questions, we are perpetually at fault for the want of first principles. Every one feels, that the individual conscience has rights, which all governments that would subsist in peace, must respect, and which cannot be violated with impunity. On the other hand, it is equally plain, that not everything which may even honestly be pleaded as conscience, can be admitted by a wise and enlightened government.—But this general position may at least be asserted—that whatever principles a government is compelled to tolerate, because they are essentially right and just, and cannot be put down, should be placed on exactly the same footing in respect to political privileges and social advantages, as all other principles which exist under the same government. Otherwise, there will be a depressed and a favoured party in the country, and internal disorder is the certain consequence. Considered therefore in the light of abstract justice, toleration under an established religion must be pronounced a social grievance. Right principles, however, like all that is valuable in this life, are of slow and gradual development. We must treasure up all the elements of them, that have been delivered to us from the past ; keep their final attainment constantly in view ; put them in practice, as far as circumstances will admit ; and never abandon them, because their partial and imperfect application is attended with difficulties and inconveniences.

J. J. T.

ART. II.—REPORT TO HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT, FROM THE POOR-LAW COMMISSIONERS, ON AN INQUIRY INTO THE SANITARY CONDITION OF THE LABOURING POPULATION OF GREAT BRITAIN. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty. July, 1842.

WE remember the time when we used to think with astonishment on the state of the Gipsies. The existence of a systematized atheism or heathenism, conjoined with that of a perpetuated barbarism, within the limits of a Christian country, defying its jurisdiction, rejecting its religion, despising its civilization, having manners, customs, and a language exclusively its own—of a race, born, wedded, and buried without register, church, or grave, and subsisting by the breach of laws, which for them have been made in vain,—the existence of this extraordinary race has, in former days, furnished us with ample matter for wonderment and meditation. We are surprised at it still; but later experience has convinced us, that it has no sort of right to a monopoly of such feelings. The Gipsies are not the only Pariahs who exist within the shadow of our privileged castes of society. There are whole classes of neglected beings, the highest of which is low in the descending scale of civilization, who, if they have not rejected our laws, our religion, and our improvements, have, in a general way, as little as possible to do with them, as things belonging to or concerning themselves, and often only mark their knowledge of their existence by the manner in which they steal by them, or break through them.

This evil has been an increasing one. It is still progressive. We know not where it will stop. For a long time, the benevolent seemed to imagine, that it might be kept in check by private efforts and institutions. City after city, and town after town, introduced among its own poor those philanthropic plans which had been tried with various success in other places; and we believe, that there is now no considerable place in the kingdom which does not possess its own system of institutions (exclusive of parochial ones) for the prevention of pauperism and for the alleviation of distress. But the giant evil lives, grows and spreads under all the means that have been taken to subdue it. Our country is in the fearful predicament, of in-



cluding within the bosom of its glorious and gorgeous civilization, a vast ill-explored abyss of misery and degradation; of seeing the worst and widest of poverty *out* of its poor-houses; of finding its gaols and prison-ships and bridewells too few and scanty of room for its criminals; and of being compelled to send forth annual colonies of felons, to begin the world anew in the nearer neighbourhood of the savage. These are signs of something radically and appallingly wrong. If the spread of civilization involves in it this awful and disproportioned accretion of guilt and wretchedness, it is time to ask (while to ask it is in our power), if this is a necessary consequence of civilization itself, or if it be largely or principally attributable to adventitious and separable causes, which, though long confounded with it, have no original connection, and admit of modification, without excluding hope of removal.

The publication, which has led to these remarks, is one of the most valuable of its class; and we rejoice to see the extent of the impression which it has already produced. Many of the leading periodicals, and, what is only less important, many of the most influential local prints, have taken copious and repeated notices of its contents. This, however, does not silence us. Philanthropy expects every man to do his duty: and, whatever be our rank in the line of battle with Human Evil, we feel that we *have* a station there. Our notice of this admirable report will, in some measure, be limited by the dimensions of the work in which it is to be taken; and it will so far deviate from the usual track of such notices, as to include in it a few local and corroborating illustrations. Our wish, in calling fresh attention to the Book, is of course only to call fresh attention to the subject; for authorship, and the glory of authorship, are here out of the question; and they, who write for usefulness, write also for oblivion. The writer\* of this Report, will, we imagine, be content to be forgotten, if, through means of what he has written, a more pervading and practical interest is drawn to the condition and sufferings of the poor.

We forbear to enter into the history of the preparation of the Report, though it reflects high honour on the Government which directed it, and on the Commission to which it was entrusted. We rejoice to see the subject become a national concern. Nothing can, in fact, concern a great nation more, than to obtain some correct knowledge of the causes and remedies of evils, which are every year growing to a more formidable head, and which involve in them an incessant and energetic

\* Mr. Chadwick, the Secretary to the Commission.

antagonism to all that should characterize a happy and flourishing state of the people.

We make the following extract from the opening of the Report, as giving a defined idea of the nature and extent of the evils which are the subject of it:—

“ The registered mortality from all specified diseases in England and Wales was, during the year 1838, 282,940, or 18 per thousand of the population. These deaths are exclusive of the deaths from old age, which amounted to 35,564, and the deaths from violence, which amounted to 12,055. The deaths from causes not specified were 11,970. The total amount of deaths was 342,529 for that year. In the year following the total deaths were 338,979, of which the registered deaths from old age were 35,063, and the deaths from violence 11,980. The proportion of deaths for the whole population was 21 per thousand.

It appears that fever, after its ravages amongst the infant population, falls with the greatest intensity on the adult population in the vigour of life. The periods at which the ravages of the other diseases, consumption, small-pox, and measles, take place, are sufficiently well known. The proportions in which the diseases have prevailed in the several counties will be found deserving of peculiar attention.

“ A conception may be formed of the aggregate effects of the several causes of mortality from the fact, that of the deaths caused during one year in England and Wales by epidemic, endemic, and contagious diseases, including fever, typhus, and scarlatina, amounting to 56,461, the great proportion of which are proved to be preventible, it may be said that the effect is as if the whole county of Westmoreland, now containing 56,469 souls, or the whole county of Huntingdonshire, or any other equivalent district, were entirely depopulated annually, and were only occupied again by the growth of a new and feeble population living under the fears of a similar visitation. The annual slaughter in England and Wales from preventible causes of typhus which attacks persons in the vigour of life, appears to be double the amount of what was suffered by the Allied Armies in the battle of Waterloo. It will be shown that diseases such as those which now prevail on land, did, within the experience of persons still living, formerly prevail to a greater extent at sea, and have since been prevented by sanitary regulations; and that when they did so prevail in ships of war, the deaths from them were more than double in amount of the deaths in battle. But the number of persons who die is to be taken also as the indication of the much greater number of persons who fall sick, and who, although they escape, are subjected to the suffering and loss occasioned by attacks of disease. Thus it was found on the original inquiry in the metropolis, that the deaths from fever amounted to 1 in 10 of the number attacked. If this proportion held equally throughout the country, then a quarter of a million of persons will have been subjected to loss and suffering from an attack of fever during the year; and in so far as the proportions of attacks to deaths is diminished, so it appears from the reports is the intensity and suffering from the disease generally increased. It appears

that the extremes of mortality at the Small-pox Hospital, in London, amongst those attacked, have been 15 per cent. and 42 per cent. But if, according to other statements, the average mortality be taken at 1 in 5, or 20 per cent., the number of persons attacked in England and Wales during the year of the return, must amount to upwards of 16,000 persons killed, and more than 80,000 persons subjected to the sufferings of disease, including, in the case of the labouring classes, the loss of labour and long-continued debility; and in respect to all classes, often permanent disfigurement, and occasionally the loss of sight."

No one, we presume, can read these statements, without being convinced of the reality and magnitude of the evils, and of the urgency of the demand for the application of national remedies. We have facts, and not figures. We have the plain statement of some appalling truths, obtained by a very widely-extended and well-managed inquiry. They are statements, which it is the interest of *no* party to over-colour. And they are made in a manner which shows that there is no design or desire to over-colour them. The whole work, in fact, is composed in a calm and excellent spirit. The Reporter throughout, appears honourably desirous of subjecting the character of author to that of compiler. Wherever it was practicable, the statements of the individuals, from whom the intelligence was collected, have been given in their own language—very frequently the language of men too intent upon truth to think much about elegance, and giving the results of their professional experience with much more regard to plain trustworthy perspicuity, than to the minutiae of composition. We value them the more for these marks of genuineness. The incorrectnesses are obviously, not of matter, but merely of form; and we feel the good sense, which, in making these selections, has been content to give them no other than it found them.

The Report is distributed into Eight departments, exclusive of the last, which is a summing-up of the conclusions deduced in the course of them. The first section is mainly composed of extracts from the reports of qualified and experienced observers—generally the medical officers of the different parochial unions. It is entitled, "General Condition of the Residences of the Labouring Classes, where Disease is found to be the most Prevalent." The evidence is fairly and broadly collected. From Cornwall to the borders of the Scottish Highlands, the country has been laid under contribution to supply it. In circumstances precluding the possibility of collusion, the uniformity of the evidence is no less remarkable than melancholy, no less instructive than remarkable. All voices unite in ascribing most of the avoidable forms of disease to the local

circumstances of the labouring classes, whether in the country or in the town. And it is observable, that no effort appears to be made in this Report, to fix undue attention upon particular and isolated masses of evil. We could point out more than one deliberate and judicious omission. The statements given are those which are most diffusive in their application, and which grow out of facts that most generally pervade the kingdom. This makes in favour of the Report; but it obviously marks a worse condition of the people. It proves that these details are but generalizations in miniature; and that each of them represents a state, which is too faithfully characteristic, if not of the general state of the British Poor, yet certainly of a state which is but too general among them.

We take the first extract given in the Report—that made from the return of Mr. Gilbert, on the sanitary condition of the population in Cornwall and Devon: he says—

“ In Tiverton there is a large district, from which I find numerous applications were made for relief to the Board of Guardians, in consequence of illness from fever. The expense in procuring the necessary attention and care, and the diet and comforts recommended by the medical officer, were in each case very high, and particularly attracted my attention.

“ I requested the medical officer to accompany me through the district, and with him, and afterwards by myself, I visited the district, and examined the cottages and families living there. The land is nearly on a level with the water, the ground is marshy, and the sewers all open. Before reaching the district, I was assailed by a most disagreeable smell; and it was clear to the sense that the air was full of most injurious malaria. The inhabitants, easily distinguishable from the inhabitants of the other parts of the town, had all a sickly, miserable appearance. The open drains in some cases ran immediately before the doors of the houses, and some of the houses were surrounded by wide open drains, full of all the animal and vegetable refuse not only of the houses in that part, but of those in other parts of Tiverton. In many of the houses, persons were confined with fever and different diseases, and all I talked to either were ill or had been so: and the whole community presented a melancholy spectacle of disease and misery.

“ Attempts have been made on various occasions by the local authorities to correct this state of things by compelling the occupants of the houses to remove nuisances, and to have the drains covered, but they find that in the present state of the law their powers are not sufficient, and the evil continues and is likely so to do, unless the legislature affords some redress in the nature of sanitary powers. Independently of this nuisance, Tiverton would be considered a fine healthy town, situate as it is on the slope of a hill, with a swift river running at its foot.

“ It is not these unfortunate creatures only who choose this centre of disease for their living-place who are affected; but the whole town is



more or less deteriorated by its vicinity to this pestilential mass, where the generation of those elements of disease and death is constantly going on.

“ Another cause of disease is to be found in the state of the cottages. Many are built on the ground without flooring, or against a damp hill. Some have neither windows nor doors sufficient to keep out the weather, or to let in the rays of the sun, or supply the means of ventilation ; and in others the roof is so constructed or so worn as not to be weather tight. The thatch roof frequently is saturated with wet, rotten, and in a state of decay, giving out malaria, as other decaying vegetable matter.”

The state of the labouring population of Liverpool is thus outlined from the return of one of the medical officers of the West Derby Union :—

“ The locality of the residences of the labouring classes are in respect of the surrounding atmosphere favourably situated, but their internal structure and economy the very reverse of favourable. The cottages are in general built more with a view to the per centage of the landlord than to the accommodation of the poor. The joiner’s work is ill performed ; admitting by the doors, windows, and even floors, air in abundance, which, however, in many cases, is not disadvantageous to the inmates. The houses generally consist of three apartments, viz., the day-room, into which the street-door opens, and two bed-rooms, one above the other. There is likewise beneath the day-room a cellar, let off either by the landlord or tenant of the house, to a more improvident class of labourers ; which cellar, in almost all cases, is small and damp, and often crowded with inhabitants to excess. These cellars are, in my opinion, the source of many diseases, particularly catarrh, rheumatic affections, and tedious cases of typhus mitior, which, owing to the over-crowded state of the apartment, occasionally pass into typhus gravior. I need scarcely add that the furniture and bedding are in keeping with the miserable inmates. The rooms above the day-room are often let separately by the tenant to lodgers, varying in number from one or two, to six or eight individuals in each, their slovenly habits, indolence, and consequent accumulation of filth go far to promote the prevalence of contagious and infectious diseases.

“ The houses already alluded to front the street, but there are houses in back courts still more unfavourably placed, which also have their cellars, and their tenants of a description worse, if possible. There is commonly only one receptacle for refuse in a court of eight, ten, or twelve densely crowded houses. In the year 1836-7, I attended a family of 13, twelve of whom had typhus fever, without a bed in the *cellar*, without straw or timber shavings—frequent substitutes. They lay on the floor, and so crowded, that I could scarcely pass between them. In another house I attended 14 patients ; there were only two beds in the house. All the patients, as lodgers, lay on the boards, and during their illness, never had their clothes off. I met with many cases in similar conditions, yet

amidst the greatest destitution and want of domestic comfort, I have never heard, during the course of twelve years' practice, a complaint of inconvenient accommodation."

As far as relates to this particular locality, we can attest both its correctness and its moderation. The *picture* of a cellar,—such as they exist in unbroken lines up and down entire streets of this flourishing and withering town,—would do more than any words can do to excite the commiseration of the benevolent, and to draw the attention of the influential to the subject. Living men ought not to be permitted to inhabit places almost too dreary for their graves. But actual inspection is necessary to the proper and perfect conception of these "dens and caves of the earth." Our hearts have drooped within us, at the sight of this vast shadow of local wretchedness, hanging over those who crowd to it for shelter; and we are convinced that the opinion expressed by the above reporter with respect to the influence of such places of abode upon the life and health of the inhabitants, must be that of every unbiased and experienced observer. The cellars are not *all* bad; but those which are so are bad indeed. Numbers of them are quite below the level of the pavement; and the consequence is, that they are in a state of perpetual humidity. The raw chilling atmosphere is very little softened by the few chips or coals which the poor inmates can afford for a fire. Every thing betokens neglect and decay. Bare beams, black with smoke; walls, from which much of the plaster has been torn—if there ever was any—and over the plaster of which, where any remains, the dreary frescoes of dampness are spreading dark and free (what a *MENE, MENE*, is written upon that wall!); floors, which have often a well in them to receive the oozings of the water, usually flagged with stones, but of which the stones are very commonly broken up, leaving nothing but the bare black ground for the feet of the inhabitants: doors and windows in the most shattered condition, the latter often as incapable of admitting light as they are of excluding wind and rain;—these are the habitations in which thousands of those through whose hands the wealth of Liverpool passes, and whose labours have created all its outward splendour, live where they cannot see the sun, sleep where they cannot breathe pure air, and die where no befriending eye can look upon them, save the Priest's, who lifts the cross over the death-bed, or the Missionary's, whose only hope it can be to shed a glow-worm's light upon the mass of darkness around him.—Much of this applies in substance to the back-courts. Many of these are only better than the cellars, from being

*above-ground.* Numbers of them contain only one receptacle for the filth and refuse of the crowded families who inhabit them; and this receptacle is very commonly in such a state, that on a warm day, or after a shower, the stench is insupportable. Can these effluvia be inhaled day after day, and week after week, without producing injurious effects upon the constitution? In some of these back-courts, pigs and cows are kept; and kept in such a state, from the scanty room and deficient accommodation, that this too must be a perpetual and prolific source of malaria. The dwellings in the older and worse courts, are usually in a state of the most forlorn disrepair; and there are occasionally narrow outlets, where filth is cast out from the back of the street-houses, and where scenes take place which it is impossible to imagine or to describe. Let them be dismissed with loathing abhorrence; and let us only think how to prevent their recurrence. The question *how* to do so, is of more true human importance than any proposed or solved in the Principia of Newton.

The glories of the nineteenth century are rainbows written upon clouds; and we shall rejoice to see the day, when the sense of what is due to overwrought and overpressed humanity shall work its way, upon a broader scale, from speculation into action. It has indeed long wrought itself into action, and *high* action too, as far as private sympathy and liberality are concerned; but the evils to be encountered are no longer matters to be privately grappled with; they must be made the serious matter of national deliberation and interference. No powers are entrusted to the municipal or to any other authorities, sufficient to rectify things so intricately and inveterately wrong. The existence of them should be the nation's grief: the sufferance of them would be the nation's shame; the removal of them must be the nation's work, and will be its truest and happiest glory. We trust that the knowledge of them, here laid before those who hold in their hands the powers and resources of the State, will stir them up to the pursuit of a new and sublimer fame than was won on the turf of Cressy, or the waves of Trafalgar.

Has the reader ever stood on the terraces of Windsor? has he seen the standard of England floating over the residence of the young and happy sovereign? has he cast his eyes on the regal prospect beneath him, the park, the town, the gothic halls of Eton, the Thames, still marking "his silver-winding way" through a map of rich meadows and ancient trees? It was an imposing and a stirring sight; and the Beauty, the Chivalry, and the Poetry of the days of old rose up to give it a more

deep and romantic loveliness. But what did that glorious scene include in it? *That* of which we confess we little dreamed, when, beneath the arcades of the truly royal park, we saw the young sovereign and her princely company, sweeping like a vision of sweetness and happiness before us, and following the open vehicle which had rolled on gaily before, bearing in it the infant and unconscious hopes of the throne. When we looked on that groupe, we little thought of the scenes exhibiting in its immediate vicinity. They were such as we now regret to give, but feel that we should not be right in withholding. Mr. Parker thus reports on the state of the town of Windsor:—

“With regard to the drainage of the towns in the counties of Buckingham, Oxford, and Berks, it may be observed that there is no town in which great improvements might not be effected. In Reading there are commissioners appointed under a local Act to make provision for cleansing the town and removing nuisances; but their duties do not appear to be performed with due regard to the importance of the trust, for the Board of Guardians of the Reading union, by resolutions entered in their minutes, frequently point out nuisances, and remind the commissioners of the filthy condition of many of the courts and back streets. But extensive as the improvements in the state of the drainage of almost every town in these counties might be, there is no town amongst them in which there is so wide a field for improvement as Windsor, which, from the contiguity of the palace, the wealth of the inhabitants, and the situation, might have been expected to be superior in this respect to any other provincial town. Such, however, is not the case; for of all the towns visited by me, Windsor is the worst beyond all comparison. From the gas-works at the end of George-street a double line of open, deep, black, and stagnant ditches extends to Clewer-lane. From these ditches an intolerable stench is perpetually rising, and produces fever of a severe character. I visited a cottage in Clewer-lane in which typhus fever had existed for some time, and learnt from a woman who had recently lost a child, the complaint was attributable to the state of these ditches. Mr. Bailey, the relieving officer, informs me that cases of typhus fever are frequent in the neighbourhood; and observes that there are now seven or eight persons attacked by typhus in Charles-street and South-place. He considers the neighbourhood of Garden-court in almost the same condition. ‘There is a drain,’ he says, ‘running from the barracks into the Thames across the Long-walk. That drain is almost as offensive as the black ditches extending to Clewer-lane. The openings to the sewers in Windsor are exceedingly offensive in hot weather. The town is not well supplied with water, and the drainage is very defective.’ The ditches of which I have spoken are sometimes emptied by carts; and on the last occasion their contents were purchased for the sum of 15*l.* by the occupier of land in the parish of Clewer, whose meadows suffered from the extraordinary strength of the manure, which was used without previous preparation.”



Contrasts like these ought nowhere to exist. We have no wish to see Windsor disparked, or the bannered lions lowered from her ancient towers, or the sovereign a prisoner to state and a stranger to pleasure. But we *have* a wish that no human splendour should be based upon human wretchedness; and we think that the standard of England itself will be looked up to with more love at home and with more reverence abroad, in proportion as it is outspread over a less suffering people. That there is a desire in high places to acquire the necessary knowledge of the character and sources of existing evils, this Report itself very strikingly evinces. We have only to hope, that the use which is made of its disclosures and suggestions, will prove that the sympathy of the Elevated with the Depressed, is not of a spurious and sentimental, but of a genuine and influential kind. Such alone we want: and of such there never was deeper need.

We should do a grievous wrong to the subject, were we to omit the connected report on the state of the poor-districts of the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The statements are from the pen of Dr. Arnott:—

“In the survey which I had the opportunity of making in September, 1840, of the state of Edinburgh and Glasgow, all appeared confirmatory of the view of the subject of fevers submitted to the Poor Law Commissioners by those who prepared the Report in London.

“In Glasgow, which I first visited, it was found that the great mass of the fever cases occurred in the low wynds and dirty narrow streets and courts, in which, because lodging was there cheapest, the poorest and most destitute naturally had their abodes. From one such locality, between Argyll-street and the river, 754 of about 5000 cases of fever which occurred in the previous year were carried to the hospitals. In a perambulation on the morning of September 24th, with Mr. Chadwick, Dr. Alison, Dr. Cowan (since deceased, who had laboured so meritoriously to alleviate the misery of the poor in Glasgow), the police magistrate, and others, we examined these wynds, and, to give an idea of the whole vicinity, I may state as follows:—

“We entered a dirty low passage like a house door, which led from the street through the first house to a square court immediately behind, which court, with the exception of a narrow path around it leading to another long passage through a second house, was occupied entirely as a dung receptacle of the most disgusting kind. Beyond this court the second passage led to a second square court, occupied in the same way by its dunghill; and from this court there was yet a third passage leading to a third court, and third dungheap. There were no privies or drains there, and the dungheaps received all filth which the swarm of wretched inhabitants could give; and we learned that a considerable part of the rent of the houses was paid by the produce of the dungheaps.

Thus, worse off than wild animals, many of which withdraw to a distance and conceal their ordure, the dwellers in these courts had converted their shame into a kind of money by which their lodging was to be paid. The interiors of these houses and their inmates corresponded with the exteriors. We saw half-dressed wretches crowding together to be warm ; and in one bed, although in the middle of the day, several women were imprisoned under a blanket, because as many others who had on their backs all the articles of dress that belonged to the party were then out of doors in the streets. This picture is so shocking that without ocular proof, one would be disposed to doubt the possibility of the facts ; and yet there is perhaps no old town in Europe that does not furnish parallel examples. London, before the great fire of 1666, had few drains and had many such scenes, and the consequence was, a pestilence occurring at intervals of about 12 years, each destroying at an average about a fourth of the inhabitants.

“ Who can wonder that pestilential disease should originate and spread in such situations ? And, as a contrast, it may be observed here, that when the kelp manufacture lately ceased on the western shores of Scotland, a vast population of the lowest class of people who had been supported chiefly by the wages of kelp-labour remained in extreme want, with cold, hunger, and almost despair pressing them down—yet, as their habitations were scattered and in pure air, cases of fever did not arise among them.

“ Edinburgh stands on a site beautifully varied by hill and hollow, and owing to this, unusual facilities are afforded for perfect drainage ; but the old part of the town was built long before the importance of drainage was understood in Britain, and in the unchanged parts there is none but by the open channels in the streets, wynds, and closes or courts. To remedy the want of covered drains, there is in many neighbourhoods a very active service of scavengers to remove everything which open drains cannot be allowed to carry ; but this does not prevent the air from being much more contaminated by the frequent stirring and sweeping of impurities than if the transport were effected under ground ; and there are here and there enclosed spaces between houses too small to be used for any good purpose but not neglected for bad, and to which the scavengers have not access.

“ Another defect in some parts of Edinburgh is the great size and height of the houses (some of them exceeding ten stories), with common stairs, sometimes as filthy as the streets or wynds to which they open. By this construction the chance of cleanliness is lessened, the labour of carrying up necessities, and particularly water for the purposes of purifying, is increased ; and if any malaria or contagion exist in the house, the probability of its passing from dwelling to dwelling on the same stair is much greater than if there were no communication but through the open air. Illustrating how malaria may be produced, I may state that in making a round of observation with Mr. Chadwick, attended by the Police Superintendent, and others, we visited a house at the back of the Canongate, which in former days had been the chief inn of the city, but now, with its internal court-yard of steep ascent, is occupied by

families of the labouring classes. In the court-yard a widow of respectable appearance, who answered some of our questions, occupied a room which appeared on the ground-floor, as seen from the court, but was above a stable, now used as a pigsty, opening to the lower level of the external street. A little while before, on the occasion of the dungheap being removed from the pigsty, two children who lived with her, a daughter and a niece, were made ill by the effluvia from below, and both died within a few days.

“The facts here referred to go far to explain why fatal fever has been more common in Edinburgh than from other circumstances would have been anticipated.”

The *second* Section of the Report treats “of the Public Arrangements external to Residences, by which the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population is affected.” The defects principally to be attended to are those which arise from neglect of sewerage and drainage. It is justly observed that these are not only the most important defects, but those which come “most immediately within practical legislative and administrative controul.”

Respecting the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Liverpool, Dr. Duncan writes:—

“The sewerage of Liverpool was so very imperfect, that about 10 years ago a local Act was procured appointing commissioners with power to levy a rate on the parish for the construction of sewers. Under this Act, which expires next year, about 100,000*l.* have been expended in the formation of sewers along the main streets, but many of these are still unsewered; and with regard to the streets inhabited by the working classes, I believe that the great majority are without sewers, and that where they do exist they are of a very imperfect kind unless where the ground has a natural inclination, therefore the surface water and fluid refuse of every kind stagnate in the street, and add, especially in hot weather, their pestilential influence to that of the more solid filth already mentioned. With regard to the courts, I doubt whether there is a single court in Liverpool which communicates with the street by an underground drain, the only means afforded for carrying off the fluid dirt being a narrow, open, shallow gutter, which sometimes exists, but even this is very generally choked up with stagnant filth.

“There can be no doubt that the emanations from this pestilential surface, in connexion with other causes, are a frequent source of fever among the inhabitants of these undrained localities. I may mention two instances in corroboration of this assertion:—In consequence of finding that not less than 63 cases of fever had occurred in one year in Union-court Banastre-street, (containing 12 houses,) I visited the court in order to ascertain, if possible, their origin, and I found the whole court inundated with fluid filth which had oozed through the walls from two adjoining ash-pits or cess-pools, and which had no means of escape in



consequence of the court being below the level of the street, and having no drain. The court was owned by two different landlords, one of whom had offered to construct a drain provided the other would join him in the expense; but this offer having been refused, the court had remained for two or three years in the state in which I saw it; and I was informed by one of the inhabitants that the fever was constantly occurring there. The house nearest the ash-pit had been untenanted for nearly three years in consequence of the filthy matter oozing up through the floor, and the occupiers of the adjoining houses were unable to take their meals without previously closing the doors and windows. Another court in North-street, consisting of only four small houses, I found in a somewhat similar condition, the air being contaminated by the emanations from two filthy ruinous privies, a large open ash-pit and a stratum of semi-fluid abomination covering the whole surface of the court.

"From the absence of drains and sewers, there are of course few cellars entirely free from damp; many of those in low situations are literally inundated after a fall of rain. To remedy the evil, the inhabitants frequently make little holes or wells at the foot of the cellar steps or in the floor itself; and notwithstanding these contrivances, it has been necessary in some cases to take the door off its hinges and lay it on the floor supported by bricks, in order to protect the inhabitants from the wet. Nor is this the full extent of the evil; the fluid matter of the court privies sometimes oozes through into the adjoining cellars, rendering them uninhabitable by any one whose olfactories retain the slightest sensibility. In one cellar in Lace-street I was told that the filthy water thus collected measured not less than two feet in depth; and in another cellar, a well, four feet deep, into which this stinking fluid was allowed to drain, was discovered below the bed where the family slept!"

He also states,—

"There are upwards of 8,000 inhabited cellars in Liverpool, and I estimate their occupants at from 35,000 to 40,000."

He adds that,—

"In a Report lately made by the Surveyors, appointed by the Town Council to examine the condition of the court and cellar residences within the borough, it is stated that of 2,398 *courts* examined, 1,705 were closed at one end, so as to prevent thorough ventilation. Of 6,571 *cellars*, whose condition is reported on, 2,988 are stated to be either wet or damp, and nearly one-third of the whole number are from 5 to 6 feet below the level of the street."

On a comparative view of the means of removing filth from the streets of towns, the preference is given, of course, to the agency of sewers discharging themselves into the neighbouring streams. The construction of the sewers themselves then comes under review: the defects of the present mode of forming them are pointed out, and the latest structural improvements stated, with valuable official evidence upon the relative efficacy of the old system and the new.—See pp. 55, 58.



Of the effects of Land Drainage upon the health of the local population, the following proof is given from the report of Mr. Marshall, Jun., on the sanitary state of the Isle of Ely:—

“ It has been shown that the Isle of Ely was at one period in a desolate state, being frequently inundated by the upland waters, and destitute of adequate means of drainage ; the lower parts became a wilderness of stagnant pools, the exhalations from which loaded the air with pestiferous vapours and fogs ; now, by the improvements which have from time to time been made, and particularly within the last fifty years, an alteration has taken place which may appear to be the effect of magic. By the labour, industry, and spirit of the inhabitants, a forlorn waste has been converted into pleasant and fertile pastures, and they themselves have been rewarded by bounteous harvests. Drainage, embankments, engines, and enclosures have given stability to the soil (which in its nature is as rich as the Delta of Egypt) as well as salubrity to the air. These very considerable improvements, though carried on at a great expense, have at last turned to a double account, both in reclaiming much ground and improving the rest, and in contributing to the healthiness of the inhabitants. Works of modern refinement have given a totally different face and character to this once neglected spot ; much has been performed, much yet remains to be accomplished by the rising generation. The demand for labour produced by drainage is incalculable, but when it is stated that where sedge and rushes but a few years since we now have fields of waving oats and even wheat, it must be evident that it is very great.

“ On reference to a very perfect account of the baptisms, marriages, and burials, in Wisbeach, from 1558 to 1826, I find that in the decennial periods, of which 1801, 1811, and 1821, were the middle years, the baptisms and burials were as under :—

|              | Baptisms. | Burials. | Population in 1801. |
|--------------|-----------|----------|---------------------|
| 1796 to 1805 | 1,627     | 1,535    | 4,710               |
| 1806 to 1815 | 1,654     | 1,313    | 5,209               |
| 1816 to 1825 | 2,165     | 1,390    | 6,515               |

“ In the first of the three periods the mortality was 1 in 31 ; in the second, 1 in 40 ; in the third, 1 in 47 ; the latter being less than the exact mean mortality of the kingdom for the last two years. (*See Registrar-general's Second Report, p. 4. folio edition.*) These figures clearly show that the mortality has wonderfully diminished in the last half century, and who can doubt but that the increased salubrity of the fens produced by drainage is a chief cause of the improvement.”

This section draws to a close with the following impressive summation :—

“ The condition of large rural districts in the immediate vicinity of the towns, and of the poorest districts of the towns themselves, presents a singular contrast in the nature of the agencies by which the health of the inhabitants is impaired. Within the towns we find the houses and

streets filthy, the air foetid, disease, typhus, and other epidemics rise amongst the population, bringing, in the train, destitution and the need of pecuniary as well as medical relief; all mainly arising from the presence of the richest materials of production, the complete absence of which would, in a great measure, restore health, avert the recurrence of disease, and, if properly applied, would promote abundance, cheapen food, and increase the demand for beneficial labour. Outside the afflicted districts, and at a short distance from them, as in the adjacent rural districts, we find the aspect of the country poor and thinly clad with vegetation, except rushes and plants favoured by a superabundance of moisture, the crops meagre, the labouring agricultural population few, and afflicted with rheumatism and other maladies, arising from damp and an excess of water, which, if removed, would relieve them from a cause of disease, the land from an impediment to production, and if conveyed for the use of the town population, would give that population the element of which they stand in peculiar need, as a means to relieve them from that which is their own cause of depression, and return it for use on the land as a means of the highest fertility. The fact of the existence of these evils, and that they are removable, is not more certain than that their removal would be attended by reductions of existing burdens, and might be rendered productive of general advantage, if due means, guided by science, and applied by properly qualified officers, be resorted to."

Section the *third* is thus headed:—"Circumstances chiefly in the internal economy, and bad ventilation of places of work; workmen's lodging houses, dwellings, and the domestic habits affecting the health of the labouring classes."

Here the Reporter observes:—

"The frequency of cases of early deaths, and orphanage, and widowhood, amongst one class of labourers, the journeymen tailors, led me to make some inquiries as to the causes affecting them; and I submit the following evidence for peculiar consideration, as an illustration of the operation of one predominant cause;—bad ventilation or overcrowding, and the consequences on the moral habits, the loss of healthful existence and happiness to the labourer, the loss of profit to the employer, and of produce to the community, and the loss in expenditure for the relief of the destitution, which original cause (the bad ventilation) we have high scientific authority for stating to be easily and economically controllable.

"*Mr. Thomas Brownlow*, tailor, aged 52:

"It is stated that you have been a journeyman tailor, and now work for yourself. At what description of places have you worked?—I have always worked at the largest places in London; one part of my time I worked at Messrs. Allen's, of Old Bond-street, where I worked eight years; at another part of my time I worked at Messrs. Stultze's, in Clifford-street, where I worked four years. At Messrs. Allen's they had then from 80 to 100 men at work; at Messrs. Stultze's they had, when I worked there, about 250 men.

“ Will you describe the places of work, and the effects manifested in the health of the workmen?—The place in which we used to work at Messrs. Allen’s was a room where 80 men worked together. It was a room about 16 or 18 yards long, and 7 or 8 yards wide, lighted with skylights; the men were close together, nearly knee to knee. In summer time the heat of the men and the heat of the irons made the room 20 or 30 degrees higher than the heat outside; the heat was then most suffocating, especially after the candles were lighted. I have known young men, tailors from the country, faint away in the shop from the excessive heat and closeness; persons, working-men, coming into the shop to see some of the men, used to complain of the heat, and also of the smell, as intolerable; the smell occasioned by the heat of the irons and the various breaths of the men, really was at times intolerable. The men sat as loosely as they possibly could, and the perspiration ran from them from the heat and the closeness. It is of frequent occurrence in such workshops that light suits of clothes are spoiled from the perspiration of the hand, and the dust and flue which arises darkening the work. I have seen 40*l.* or 50*l.* worth of work spoiled in the course of the summer season from this cause.

“ In what condition are these work-places in winter?—They are more unhealthy in winter, as the heat from the candles and the closeness is much greater. Any cold currents of air which come in give annoyance to those who are sitting near the draught. There is continued squabbling as to the windows being opened; those who are near the windows, and who do not feel the heat so much as the men near the stoves, objecting to their being opened. The oldest, who had been inured to the heat, did not like the cold, and generally prevailed in keeping out the cold or the fresh air. Such has been the state of the atmosphere, that in the very coldest nights large thick tallow candles (quarter of a pound candles) have melted and fallen over from the heat.

“ What was the effect of this state of the work-places upon the habits of the workmen?—It had a very depressing effect on the energies; that was the general complaint of those who came into it. Many could not stay out the hours, and went away earlier. Those who were not accustomed to the places generally lost appetite. The natural effect of the depression was, that we had recourse to drink as a stimulant. We went into the shop at six o’clock in the morning; but at seven o’clock, when orders for the breakfast were called for, gin was brought in, and the common allowance was half-a-quartern. The younger hands did not begin with gin.

“ Was gin the first thing taken before any solid food was taken?—Yes, and the breakfast was very light; those who took gin generally took only half-a-pint of tea and half a twopenny loaf as breakfast.

“ When again was liquor brought in?—At eleven o’clock.

“ What was taken then?—Some took beer, some took gin again. In a general way, they took a pint of porter at eleven o’clock. It was seldom the men took more than the half-quartern of gin.

“ When again was liquor brought in?—At three o’clock, when some took beer and some gin, just the same as in the morning. At five

o'clock the beer and gin came in again, and was usually taken in the same quantities. At seven o'clock the shop was closed.

"After work was there any drinking?—Yes; nearly all the young men went to the public-house, and some of the others.

"What were the wages they received?—Sixpence per hour, which, at the full work, made 6s. a-day, or 36s. a-week.

"Did they make any reserves from this amount of wages?—No; very few had anything for themselves at the end of the week.

"How much of the habit of drinking was produced by the state of the work-place?—I should say the greater part of it; because when men work by themselves, or only two or three together, in cooler and less close places, there is scarcely any drinking between times. Nearly all this drinking proceeds from the large shops, where the men are crowded together in close rooms: it is the same in the shops in the country, as well as those in the town. In a rural place, the tailor, where he works by himself, or with only two or three together, takes very little of the fermented liquor or spirits which the men feel themselves under a sort of necessity for doing in towns. The closer the ventilation of the place of work, the worse are the habits of the men working in them.

"You referred to the practice of one large shop where you worked some time since; was that the general practice, and has there been no alteration?—It was and is now the general practice. Of late, since coffee has become cheaper, somewhat more of coffee and less of beer has been brought in; but there is as much gin now brought in between times, and sometimes more.

"What would be the effect of an alteration of the place of work—a ventilation which would give them a better atmosphere?—It would, without doubt, have an immediately beneficial effect on the habits. It might not cure those who have got into the habit of drinking; but the men would certainly drink less, and the younger ones would not be led into the habit so forcibly as they are.

"What is the general effect of this state of things upon the health of the men exposed to them?—Great numbers of them die of consumption. 'A decline' is the general disease of which they die. By their own rules, a man at 50 years of age is superannuated, and is thought not to be fit to do a full day's work.

"What was the average of the ages of the men at work at such shops as those you have worked at?—Thirty-two, or thereabouts.

"In such shops were there many superannuated men, or men above 50 years of age?—Very few. Amongst the tailors employed in the shops, I should say there were not ten men in the hundred above 50 years of age.

"When they die, what becomes of their widows and children, as they seldom make any reserve of wages?—No provision is made for the families; nothing is heard of them, and, if they cannot provide for themselves, they must go upon the parish.

"Are these habits created by the closeness of the rooms, attended by carelessness as to their mode of living elsewhere?—I think not as to their lodgings. The English and Scotch tailors are more careful as to



their places of lodging, and prefer sleeping in an open place. The men, however, who take their pint of porter and their pipe of tobacco in a public-house after their hours of work, take it at a place which is sometimes as crowded as a shop. Here the single men will stay until bed-time.

"Are gin and beer the only stimulants which you conceive are taken in consequence of the want of ventilation and the state of the place of work when crowded?—No: snuff is very much taken as a stimulant; the men think snuff has a beneficial effect on the eyes. After going into these close shops from the open air, the first sensation experienced is frequently a sensation of drowsiness, then a sort of itching or uneasiness at the eye, then a dimness of the sight. Some men of the strongest sight will complain of this dimness; all eyes are affected much in a similar manner. Snuff is much used as a stimulant to awaken them up; smoking in the shops is not approved of, though it is much attempted; and the journeyman tailors of the large shops are in general great smokers at the public-houses.

"Do the tailors from villages take snuff or smoke as well as drink so much as the tailors in the large shops in the towns?—They neither take so much snuff nor tobacco, nor so much of any of the stimulants, as are taken by the workmen in the crowded shops of the towns.

"Do their eyes fail them as soon?—No, certainly not.

"With the tailors, is it the eye that fails first?—Yes; after long hours of work the first thing complained of by the tailors is that the eyes fail; the sight becomes dim, and a sort of mist comes between them and their work.

"Judging from your own practical experience, how long do you conceive that a man would work in a well-ventilated or uncrowded room, as compared with a close, crowded, ill-ventilated room?—I think it would make a difference of two hours in the day to a man. He would, for example, be able, in an uncrowded or well-ventilated room, to do his twelve hours' work in the twelve hours; whereas in the close-crowded room he would not do more than ten hours' work in the twelve.

"Of two men beginning at twenty years of age, what would be the difference in extent of labour performed by them in town shops or in the country?—A man who had begun at 20 in these crowded shops would not be so good a man at 40 as a man working to 50 in a country village; of the two, the country tailor would be in the best condition in health and strength: in point of fact he is so. The difference may be set down as a gain of 10 years' good labour. There are very few who can stand such work as the town shops 20 years.

"The eyes then become permanently injured, as well as fail during the day, in these crowded shops?—Yes, they do. After 45 years of age, the eyes begin to fail, and he cannot do a full day's work.

"Supposing a workman to work in a well-ventilated room, and to be freed from the nervous exhaustion consequent on the state of the place, might he not save at least all that he drinks in the times between his meals, or be enabled to apply it better, if he were so disposed; and,

perhaps, the value of the two hours' extra work in the 12, when he is working piece-work? Yes, certainly he might.

"Taking your account of the average loss by nervous exhaustion and bad habits to be two hours' work for twenty years, and 12 hours daily work for 10 years in addition, supposing him to be employed full time, it would be a loss of the value of 50,000 hours of productive labour (of the value at 6*d.* per hour, £1,250); or, if he were only in work half a-year, at a loss of 25,000 hours; so that if he were employed the half time at the full wages, or full time at the half wages, such workman will have lost the means of putting by a sum of not less than £600 to maintain him in comfort when he is no longer able to work?—Yes, I think that would be found to be correct. Very few do save; but I have known some save considerable sums. I knew one man, of the name of John Hale, who saved about £600. He was not one of the most sober men, but he was in constant employment, sometimes at Allen's and sometimes at Weston's and he was very careful; but he died when he was about 45. I knew another man, whose name was Philip Gray, who used to prefer the smaller shops. He was a man of a very good constitution, and he lived until he was about 70. He was a journeyman all his life, and he had, when he died, more than £1,500, all saved by London journeywork. He used to live in a baker's shop in Silver-street, Golden-square.

"Was he of a penurious disposition?—He associated less with the men than others, and they knew little about him. He was dressed much the same as the rest, but he was much more clean in his person: he was remarkable for his cleanliness, and he was very neat in his person. Both he and Hale were single men.

"Can you doubt that, under favourable sanitary circumstances, such instances would become frequent?—It cannot be doubted. I have known other instances of saving, but those were not of men working on the board: they were mostly of men who had situations in the cutting-rooms."

The Reporter gives the following very striking fact:—

"One effect of the attention given to the condition of the workers in the factories has been, that ventilation has been extensively introduced, and with marked effects, on the condition of the work-people. When I was at Glasgow a striking instance was pointed out to me of the beneficial effects of ventilation when applied to the dwellings of the working classes connected with such establishments. I was informed there was in that city an assemblage of dwellings for their work-people, called, from its mode of construction and the crowd collected in it, the Barracks. This building contained 500 persons, every room contained one family. The consequences of this crowding of the apartments, which were badly ventilated, and the filth, were, that fever was scarcely ever absent from the building. There were sometimes as many as seven cases in one day, and in the last two months of 1831 there were 57 cases in the building. All attempts to induce the inmates to ventilate

their rooms were ineffectual, and the proprietors of the work, on the recommendation of Mr. Fleming, a surgeon of the district, fixed a simple tin tube of two inches in diameter, into the ceiling of each room, and these tubes led into one general tube, the extremity of which was inserted into the chimney of the factory furnace. By the perpetual draught thus produced upon the atmosphere of each room, the inmates were compelled, whether they would or not, to breathe pure air. The effect was, that during the ensuing eight years, fever was scarcely known in the place. The process was apparently defective only in not providing for the appropriate warmth of the air introduced. The cost of remedies previously applied in the public hospitals to the fever cases, continually produced as described in the barracks, were stated by Dr. Cowan to have afforded a striking contrast to the cost of the means of prevention."

The case of a very interesting and numerous class, that of the milliners and dressmakers, is thus adverted to :—

" Similar defective ventilation and overcrowding in rooms of work, with the addition of the deterioration of the air by the use of candles or gas-lamps at night-work, produce similar effects on the milliners and dressmakers employed at the larger workshops of the metropolis. In a return of the causes of death to the milliners and dressmakers who died during the year 1839, in the unions of the metropolis, in which we have no means of distinguishing those who worked separately or in small numbers, the results were as follows :—

" **TABULAR STATEMENT** of DEATHS from Disease of Milliners and Dress-makers, in the Metropolitan Unions during the year 1839, as shown by the Mortuary Registers.

| Age.      | Number of Deaths. | Average Age. | Number of Deaths from Consumption. | Average Age. | Number of Deaths from other Lung Diseases. | Average Age. |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Under 20  | 6                 | 17           | 4                                  | 18           | ..                                         | ..           |
| 20 „ 30   | 24                | 24           | 17                                 | 23           | 1                                          | 23           |
| 30 „ 40   | 11                | 34           | 6                                  | 34           | 1                                          | 33           |
| 40 „ 50   | 2                 | 45           | ..                                 | ..           | 1                                          | 40           |
| 50 „ 60   | 4                 | 54           | 1                                  | 58           | 2                                          | 55           |
| 60 „ 70   | 5                 | 64           | ..                                 | ..           | ..                                         | ..           |
| Total . . | 52                | 32           | 28                                 | 26           | 5                                          | 41           |

Out of 52 deaths in the year, 41 of the deceased attained an age of 25. The average age of the 33 who died of lung diseases was 28.

“ It is not doubted by medical witnesses, that in this class of cases, as in the case of the tailors, one-third at least of the healthful duration of adult life will be found to have been destroyed by the ignorance of the want of ventilation.”

The defective ventilation of houses and schools is the subject of some painful but most needful disclosures. We must be content, however, with this reference to them, our limits reminding us that our extracts must be less numerous. We give the following, which, however, is rather taken than chosen :—

“ Dr. Gilly, the canon of Durham, whose appeal on behalf of the border peasantry, and description of the sheds into which they are placed, have been cited, observes, upon the crowding of these small places, 24 feet by 16, with 8, 10, or even 12 persons :—

“ How they lie down to rest, how they sleep, how they can preserve common decency, how unutterable horrors are avoided, is beyond all conception. The case is aggravated when there is a young woman to be lodged in this confined space who is not a member of the family, but is hired to do the field-work, for which every hind is bound to provide a female. It shocks every feeling of propriety to think that in a room, and within such a space as I have been describing, civilized beings should be herding together without a decent separation of age and sex. So long as the agricultural system in this district requires the hind to find room for a fellow-servant of the other sex in his cabin, the least that morality and decency can demand is that he should have a second apartment where the unmarried female and those of a tender age should sleep apart from him and his wife. Last Whitsuntide, when the annual lettings were taking place, a hind, who had lived one year in the hovel he was about to quit, called to say farewell, and to thank me for some trifling kindness I had been able to show him. He was a fine tall man of about 45, a fair specimen of the frank, sensible, well-spoken, well-informed Northumbrian peasantry—of that peasantry of which a militia regiment was composed, which so amazed the Londoners (when it was garrisoned in the capital many years ago) by the size, the noble deportment, the soldier-like bearing, and the good conduct of the men. I thought this a good opportunity of asking some questions. Where was he going? and how would he dispose of his large family (eleven in number)? He told me they were to inhabit one of these hind’s cottages, whose narrow dimensions were less than 24 feet by 15, and that the eleven would have only three beds to sleep on; that he himself, his wife, a daughter of 6, and a boy of 4 years old, would sleep in one bed; that a daughter of 18, a son of 12, a son of 10, and a daughter of 8, would have a second bed; and a third would receive his three sons of the age of 20, 16, and 14. ‘ Pray,’ said I, ‘ do you not think that this is a very improper way of disposing of your family?’ ‘ Yes, certainly,’ was the answer; ‘ it is very improper in a Christian point of view; but what can we do until they build us better houses?’ ”

We trust they *will* “ build them better houses;” for the ill



effects of the old system upon the physical and moral constitution must be startlingly apparent. We may add, that, in the case of low lodging-houses and cellars, the evils in question are greatly multiplied. The writer of this (who is employed by a benevolent Religious Society in Liverpool) has himself seen five families occupying one cellar—four families *lodging* with the original occupants. We need not add what mere words decency and propriety—not to use any more solemn ones—must be, when applied to the actors upon such a scene.

We would draw particular attention to the following passage. It strongly illustrates the force of local circumstances upon those to whom they are often very unjustifiable trials. The case described is that of a female servant when married—“a young woman who had been taught the habits of neatness, order and cleanliness most thoroughly as regards household work.”

“ ‘Her attention to personal neatness,’ says a lady who is my informant, ‘was very great; her face seemed always as if it was just washed, and with her bright hair neatly combed underneath her snow-white cap, a smooth white apron, and her gown and handkerchief carefully put on, she used to look very comely. After a year or two, she married the serving man, who, as he was retained in his situation, was obliged to take a house as near his place as possible. The cottages in the neighbourhood were of the most wretched kind, mere hovels built of rough stones and covered with ragged thatch; there were few even of these, so there was no choice, and they were obliged to be content with the first that was vacant, which was in the most retired situation. After they had been married about two years, I happened to be walking past one of these miserable cottages, and as the door was open, I had the curiosity to enter. I found it was the home of the servant I have been describing. But what a change had come over her! Her face was dirty, and her tangled hair hung over her eyes. Her cap, though of good materials, was ill washed and slovenly put on. Her whole dress, though apparently good and serviceable, was very untidy, and looked dirty and slatternly; everything indeed about her seemed wretched and neglected, (except her little child,) and she appeared very discontented. She seemed aware of the change there must be in her appearance since I had last seen her, for she immediately began to complain of her house. The wet came in at the door of the *only* room, and when it rained, through every part of the roof also, except just over the hearth-stone; large drops fell upon her as she lay in bed, or as she was working at the window: in short, she had found it impossible to keep things in order, so had gradually ceased to make any exertions. Her condition had been borne down by the condition of the house. Then her husband was dissatisfied with his home and with her; his visits became less frequent, and if he had been a day labourer, and there had been a beer-shop or a public-house, the preference of that to his

home would have been inevitable, and in the one instance would have presented an example of a multitude of cases.

“ ‘She was afterwards, however, removed to a new cottage, which was water-tight, and had some conveniences, and was built close to the road, which her former mistress and all her friends must constantly pass along. She soon resumed, in a great degree, her former good habits, but still there was a little of the *dawdle* left about her; the remains of the dispiritedness caused by her former very unfavourable circumstances.’ ”

We pass over in this place much valuable matter on the intemperance and improvidence of the labouring classes, and their reciprocal action and reaction. At some future time, we hope to make this the subject of some detached remarks. In reading such statements, we have constant occasion to remember, that the same Human Beings sat to Raffaello and to Caravaggio. We must never consider the Evil *alone*, nor weaken, by lamenting it, the active wish to amend it. Let us not be wanting in faithful, patient and prayerful effort, and nothing that ought to be hoped will be denied us.

Our last citation from this section shall be from the report of Dr. Davidson :

“ It has already been shown that filth and deficient ventilation tend much to spread the contagion of typhus, being almost constant concomitants; and that while it generally affects the whole members, or the large proportion of a family among the lower orders, it rarely spreads in this manner among the better classes of society, who attend more to cleanliness and ventilation. It is quite obvious that an amelioration of the physical condition of the lower orders, in these particulars, would, in proportion as this was effected, diminish their chances of catching the contagion, which would not only operate in lessening directly its diffusion, but, by reducing the number of its sources, must tend to lessen the actual quantity of this principle that might be generated in a given time.

“ But can this amelioration be effected to any appreciable extent; or, if effected, could it be maintained for any length of time? We fear that little permanent amelioration could be effected without a legislative enactment; for though our philanthropists are very active in their charities during the prevalence of an epidemic, it no sooner subsides than they relapse into a comparative quiescence, and our working population into their former habits of filth and intemperance. And the evil will continue to assail us so long as our cities contain so many narrow and filthy lanes, so long as the houses situated there are little better than dens or hovels, so long as dunghills and other nuisances are allowed to accumulate in their vicinity, so long as these hovels are crowded with inmates, and so long as there is so much poverty and destitution. Why, then, should we not have a legislative enactment that would level these hovels to the ground—that would regulate the width of every street—

that would regulate the ventilation of every dwelling-house—that would prevent the lodging-houses of the poor from being crowded with human beings, and that would provide for their destitution? It may be said that this would interfere too much with the liberty of the subject, and no doubt it would be vehemently opposed by many interested persons. In place, however, of being an infringement on the liberty of the subject, it might rather be designated an attempt to prevent the improper liberties of the subject; for what right, moral or constitutional, has any man to form streets, construct houses, and crowd them with human beings, so as to deteriorate health and shorten life, because he finds it profitable to do so? As well ought the law to tolerate the sale of unwholesome food because it might be profitable to the retailer of it.”

Section the *fourth* relates to the “Comparative chances of life in different classes of the community.”

The difficulties of this part of the subject are thus briefly referred to at the commencement of the section:—

“Very dangerous errors arise from statistical returns and insurance tables of the mean chances of life made up from gross returns of the mortality prevalent amongst large classes, who differ widely in their circumstances. Thus we find, on inquiry into the sanitary condition of the population of different districts, that the average chances of life of the people of one class in one street will be 15 years, and of another class in a street immediately adjacent, 60 years. In one district of the same town I find, on the examination of the registries, the mortality only 1 out of every 57 of the population; and in another district 1 out of every 28 dies annually.”

We extract some important remarks from the body of the Report, with the Tables annexed to them:—

“Mr. Wood was asked—

“You have seen the following returns of the average ages of death amongst the different classes of people in Manchester and Rutlandshire:—

|                                                                                                               | Average Age of Death.    |                            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
|                                                                                                               | In Manchester.<br>Years. | In Rutlandshire.<br>Years. |
| Professional persons and gentry, and their families . . . . .                                                 | 38                       | 52                         |
| Tradesmen and their families, (in Rutlandshire, farmers and graziers are included with shopkeepers) . . . . . | 20                       | 41                         |
| Mechanics, labourers, and their families .                                                                    | 17                       | 38                         |

Bearing in mind the fact that wages are nearly double in Manchester to the average of wages in Rutlandshire, though rents are higher in Manchester, are the different chances of life amongst each class of the population to the extent they are indicated by the returns, conformable to what you would have anticipated from your personal examinations of the houses and observation of the condition of the inhabitants?—They

are decidedly conformable to my anticipation in the general results. I apprehend, however, that some allowance must perhaps be made for the very high average age in Rutlandshire, from the circumstance that many of the children or young people migrate from thence to manufacturing neighbourhoods for employment. These would certainly have passed the age at which the greatest mortality takes place amongst children; but we may expect that their migration, as it is a constant migration, might to some extent increase the average age of death or apparent duration of life in Rutlandshire, though not very materially. On the other hand, there is, perhaps, a larger proportion of children in Manchester. The results certainly correspond with my own impressions as to the relative condition of the different classes in the different neighbourhoods.

“ In the union comprehending the adjacent manufacturing district of Bolton, the proportions of deaths in the several classes as returned by the superintendent registrar were as follows in the year 1839 :—

| No. of Deaths. | BOLTON UNION.                                                              | Average Age of Deceased. |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 103            | Gentlemen and persons engaged in professions, and their families . . . . . | 34 years.                |
| 381            | Tradesmen and their families . . . . .                                     | 23                       |
| 2,232          | Mechanics, servants, labourers, and their families . . . . .               | 18                       |

“ It is proper to observe, that so far as I was informed upon the evidence received in the Factory Inquiry, and more recently on the cases of children of migrant families, that opinion is erroneous which ascribes greater sickness and mortality to the children employed in factories than amongst the children who remain in such homes as these towns afford to the labouring classes. However defective the ventilation of many of the factories may yet be, they are all of them drier and more equably warm than the residence of the parent; and we had proof that weakly children have been put into the better-managed factories as healthier places for them than their own homes. It is an appalling fact, that, of all who are born of the labouring classes in Manchester, more than 57 per cent. die before they attain five years of age; that is, before they can be engaged in factory labour, or in any other labour whatsoever.

“ Of 4,629 deaths of persons of the labouring classes who died in the year 1840 in Manchester, the numbers who died were at the several periods as follows :—

|                                 |                               |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Under 5 years of age . . . . .  | 2,649 or 1 in $1\frac{7}{10}$ |
| Above 5 and under 10 . . . . .  | 215 or 1 in 22                |
| Above 10 and under 15 . . . . . | 107 or 1 in 43                |
| Above 15 and under 20 . . . . . | 135 or 1 in 34                |

“ At seven, eight, or nine years of age, the children of the working classes begin to enter into employment in the cotton and other factories. It appears that at the period between 5 and 10 years of age the proportions of deaths which occur amongst the labouring classes, as indicated by these returns, are not so great as the proportions of deaths



which occur amongst the children of the middle classes who are not so engaged. Allowing for the circumstance that some of the weakest of the labourers' children will have been swept away in the first stage, the effect of employment is not shown to be injurious in any increase of the proportion who die in the second stage.

"In a return obtained from a district differently situated (Bethnal Green, where the manufactory is chiefly domestic), it appears that of 1,268 deaths amongst the labouring classes in the year 1839, no less than 782, or one in 14, died at their own residences under 5 years of age. One in 15 of the deaths occurred between 5 and 10, the age when employment commences. The proportion of deaths which occurred between 10 and 15, the period at which full employment usually takes place, is 1 in 60 only.

"In that district the average age of deaths in the year 1839 was as follows, in the several classes, from a population of 62,018:—

| No. of Deaths. | BETHNAL GREEN.                                                             | Average Age of Deceased. |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 101            | Gentlemen and persons engaged in professions, and their families . . . . . | 45 years.                |
| 273            | Tradesmen and their families . . . . .                                     | 26                       |
| 1,258          | Mechanics, servants, and labourers, and their families                     | 16                       |

"The mean chances of life amongst the several classes in Leeds appear from the returns to the Registrar-general generally to correspond with the anticipations raised by the descriptions given of the condition of the labouring population.

| No. of Deaths. | LEEDS BOROUGH.                                                             | Average Age of Deceased. |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 79             | Gentlemen and persons engaged in professions, and their families . . . . . | 44 years.                |
| 824            | Tradesmen, farmers, and their families . . . . .                           | 27                       |
| 3,395          | Operatives, labourers, and their families . . . . .                        | 19                       |

"But in Liverpool (which is a commercial and not a manufacturing town), where, however, the condition of the dwellings are reported to be the worst, where, according to the report of Dr. Duncan, 40,000 of the population live in cellars, where 1 in 25 of the population are annually attacked with fever,—there the mean chances of life appear from the returns to the Registrar-general to be still lower than in Manchester, Leeds, or amongst the silk weavers in Bethnal Green. During the year 1840, the deaths, distinguishable in classes, were as follows:—

| No. of Deaths. | LIVERPOOL, 1840.                                | Average Age of Deceased. |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 137            | Gentry and professional persons, &c. . . . .    | 35 years.                |
| 1,738          | Tradesmen and their families . . . . .          | 22                       |
| 5,597          | Labourers, mechanics, and servants, &c. . . . . | 15                       |

"Of the deaths which occurred amongst the labouring classes, it appears that no less than 62 per cent. of the total number were deaths under five years of age. Even amongst those entered as shopkeepers and tradesmen, no less than 50 per cent. died before they attained that

period. The proportion of mortality for Birmingham, where there are many insalubrious manufactories, but where the drainage of the town and the general condition of the inhabitants is comparatively good, was, in 1838, 1 in 40; whilst in Liverpool it was 1 in 31."

One of the ablest documents included in the Report, is that supplied from Bath by the Rev. Whitwell Elwin. He has stated, in a tabular form, the chances of life among the different classes of its inhabitants.

"Out of 616 cases of death in 1840, the results were as follows :

| No. of Deaths.                                         | Average Age of Deceased. |
|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 146 Gentlemen, professional persons and their families | 55                       |
| 244 Tradesmen and their families . . . . .             | 37                       |
| 896 Mechanics, labourers, and their families . . . . . | 25                       |

Mr. Elwin sums up his valuable Report into the following results :

"I think these facts supply us with important conclusions. Whether we compare one part of Bath with another, or Bath with other towns, we find health rising in proportion to the improvement of the residences; we find morality, in at least a great measure, following the same law, and both these inestimable blessings within the reach of the legislature to secure. When viewed in this light, these investigations, so often distressing and disgusting, acquire dignity and importance."

The *fifth* section relates to the "Pecuniary burdens created by the neglect of sanitary measures." Under this head, Mr. Chadwick observes that,—

"The more closely the subject of the evils affecting the sanitary condition of the labouring population is investigated, the more widely do their effects appear to be ramified. The pecuniary cost of noxious agencies is measured by data within the province of the actuary, by the charges attendant on the reduced duration of life, and the reduction of the periods of working ability or production by sickness; the cost would include also much of the public charge of attendant vice and crime which come within the province of the police, as well as the destitution which comes within the province of the administrators of relief. Of the pecuniary effects, including the cost of maintenance during the preventible sickness, any estimate approximating to exactness could only be obtained by very great labour, which does not appear to be necessary."

For the results, as far as they have been ascertained, we must refer to the Report itself.

The following striking passages are from the Reporter's own pen :—

"Whenever the adult population of a physically distressed district, such as Manchester, is brought out on any public occasion, the pre-

ponderance of youth in the crowd, and the small proportion of aged, or even of the middle aged, amongst them, is apt to strike those who have seen assemblages of the working population of other districts more favourably situated.

“ In the course of some inquiries under the Constabulary Force Commission as to the proportions of a paid force that would apparently be requisite for the protection of the peace in the manufacturing districts, reference was made to the meetings held by torchlight in the neighbourhood of Manchester. It was reported to us, on close observation by peace-officers, that the bulk of the assemblages consisted of mere boys, and that there were scarcely any men of mature age to be seen amongst them. Those of mature age and experience, it was stated, generally disapproved of the proceedings of the meetings as injurious to the working classes themselves. These older men, we were assured by their employers, were intelligent, and perceived that capital, and large capital, was not the means of their depression, but of their steady and abundant support. They were generally described as being above the influence of the anarchical fallacies which appeared to sway those wild and really dangerous assemblages. The inquiry which arose upon such statements was how it happened that the men of mature age, feeling their own best interests injured by the proceedings of the younger portion of the working classes, how they, the elders, did not exercise a restraining influence upon their less experienced fellow-workmen? On inquiring of the owner of some extensive manufacturing property, on which between 1000 and 2000 persons were maintained at wages yielding 40s. per week per family, whether he could rely on the aid of the men of mature age for the protection of the capital which furnished them the means of subsistence? he stated he could rely on them confidently. But on ascertaining the numbers qualified for service as special constables, the gloomy fact became apparent, that the proportion of men of strength and of mature age for such service were but as a small group against a large crowd, and that for any social influence they were equally weak. The disappearance by premature deaths of the heads of families and the older workmen at such ages as those recorded in the returns of dependent widowhood and orphanage, must to some extent practically involve the necessity of supplying the lapse of staid influence amidst a young population by one description or other of precautionary force.

“ On expostulating on other occasions with middle-aged and experienced workmen on the folly as well as the injustice of their trade unions, by which the public peace was compromised by the violences of strike after strike, without regard to the experiences of the suffering from the continued failures of their exertions for objects the attainment of which would have been most injurious to themselves, the workmen of the class remonstrated with invariably disclaimed connexion with the proceedings, and showed that they abstained from attendance at the meetings. The common expression was, they would not attend to be borne down by “ mere boys,” who were furious, and knew not what they were about. The predominance of a young and violent majority was general.

"In the metropolis the experience is similar. The mobs against which the police have to guard come from the most depressed districts; and the constant report of the superintendents is, that scarcely any old men are to be seen amongst them. In general they appear to consist of persons between 16 to 25 years of age. The mobs from such districts as Bethnal Green are proportionately conspicuous for a deficiency of bodily strength, without, however, being from that cause proportionately the less dangerously mischievous. I was informed by peace officers that the great havoc at Bristol was committed by mere boys."

The *sixth* section states the "Evidence of the effects of preventive means in raising the standard of health and the chances of life."

The following short passage is full of practical wisdom. The amount of suffering which the adoption of the plan would prevent would be incalculable.

"An excellent example is shown in this neighbourhood by the wealthy manufacturers and tradesmen almost universally paying their men's weekly wages on a Friday evening (or, what is still better, early on Saturday morning) instead of Saturday, thus putting it into the power of all to spend their money to the best advantage at Saturday's market, and obviating the great temptation which formerly existed, of spending their earnings, or a large proportion of them, in the public-houses and beer-shops after the termination of the week's labour. It may be said that such parties are as likely to dissipate on a Friday as on a Saturday evening. The propensity I grant may be the same, but there is no intervening day of rest to shake off the effects of intemperance and indulgence; and as workmen must resume their labours on the Saturday, hence it is that such a regulation exercises not only a salutary but a provident influence."

Again we are referred to the statements of the Rev. Whitwell Elwin:—

"Where gain was dependant on the growth of better habits, I have seen, with the agency of judicious individuals, encouraging cases of complete reformation: an intelligent engineer in this neighbourhood was about paying off a man whose profligacy had left him without a decent covering, and who often depended for his victuals upon the generosity of his fellow-workmen. He begged hard to be retained, and his master at last consented, on condition that he himself should lay out his wages for the next three months. He provided the man with good lodgings, allowed him tea, sugar, and bread and butter night and morning; meat, and either bread or potatoes, with a pint of beer every day for his dinner; and before the appointed time was up, bought him with the surplus a new suit of clothes. The man was so sensible of the advantage of the change, that he became one of the most thrifty and valuable workmen; and his master has often since tried the same experiment with the same success. If we could collect all the philanthropy and much of the self-



interest of the country into wise and profitable channels, we might, I believe, in a twelvemonth, do much towards regenerating the most wretched classes."

The last sentence deserves particular consideration. It is a very simple enunciation of a very momentous truth. All who are placed in situations which enable them to command any extensive view of the sources and tendencies of various well-intentioned institutions, must be aware that their mighty means are often frittered away into insignificant results, if they do not give encouragement to much that is positively evil. There are associations, intentionally beneficent, whose vast machinery, compared with their published results,

"Resembles ocean, into tempest wrought  
To waft a feather."

We grieve to see that the repetition of the failure does not, in many cases, open men's eyes to the fact of there being something chimerical in the original design, or imperfect in the plan of action, or defective in the agency employed. In all cases but these, men cease to repeat the same experiment after a clear and decided failure. An enlarged acquaintance with the history of philanthropy would guarantee us from the recommitment of many material errors. Much is attempted under the impulse of benevolent feeling, which cannot be justified by the records of benevolent experience. It is certain, that little is often done with much: it is no less certain, that much may always be done with very little. We do not say this from any temptation in the antithesis, but because we believe it to be a principle the ignorance or neglect of which has been a very costly error.

Voluntary temperance is the virtue in its finest form; but is the power of *enforcing* temperance a power to be neglected? The following is from the evidence of Mr. William Fairbairn on this subject:—

"What are their habits in respect to sobriety?—I may mention that I strictly prohibit on my works the use of beer or fermented liquors of any sort, or of tobacco. I enforce the prohibition of fermented liquors so strongly that, if I found any man transgressing the rule in that respect, I would instantly discharge him without allowing him time to put on his coat.

"Have you any peculiar grounds for adopting this course?—No; but as respects myself I wish to have an orderly set of workmen; and in the next place I am decidedly of opinion that it is better for the men themselves and for their families.

"Are you aware that it is a prevalent opinion that strong drink is

necessary as a stimulus for the performance of labour?—I am aware that that was a prevalent opinion amongst employers of labour, but it is now very generally abandoned; there are nevertheless some foundries in which there is drinking throughout the works all day long. It is observable, however, of the men employed as workmen, that they do not work so well; their perceptions are clouded, and they are stupified and heavy. I have provided water for the use of the men in every department of the works. In summer time the men engaged in the strongest work, such as the strikers to the heavy forges, drink water very copiously. In general the men who drink water are really more active, and do more work, and are more healthy than the workmen who drink fermented liquors.”

We recur with renewed satisfaction and sympathy to the evidence of Mr. W. Fairbairn :—

“ ‘ It is always,’ said he, ‘ an indication of looseness of character, and a low standard of moral conduct, to see a mechanic in dirt or in his working-clothes on Sunday. Thirty years’ experience leads me to draw a very unfavourable conclusion as to the future usefulness to me, and of success to himself, of any workman whom I see in dirt on a Sunday.’ ”

“ As a general rule, does the advance of his house keep pace with the advance in condition of the person?—As a general rule, it does. Better personal condition leads to better associates, and commonly to better marriage, on which the improved condition of the house is entirely dependent. It is due to the labouring classes of females in Lancashire and the surrounding districts to state that, in the important household virtue of cleanliness, they are superior to the females of the same class in Scotland.

“ Are you aware of what is the condition of their houses? Have you visited them?—I have not made it a practice to visit them, I chiefly judge of their circumstances from seeing them with their wives and families, and their well-dressed and respectable condition on the Sundays. These externals are always indications of greater comforts and respectability at home. I am a strong advocate for dress, and encourage working men to dress well; if I see any workman in a dirty condition and in his working-clothes in the streets on the Sunday, I do not, perhaps, speak to him then, but on the Monday I tell him that I have been looking over the books, that I find that he has had as good wages as other men who dress respectably, and that I do not like to have any one about me who will not dress well on the Sunday. This intimation has generally had the desired effect.”

Some valuable plans are given (in lithograph) for the improvement of labourers’ dwellings, &c. Every thing will gain by the adoption of them, save *the picturesque*; and that, in such a case, becomes a sacrifice of great cheapness. The artist will quickly learn to see the beautiful in other scenes, than those indicative of social, if not of moral, degradation; and, if the poet misses the colouring of the weeds on the decayed thatch,

he will find something, we trust, to make a noble compensation *within*.

The want of grounds for popular recreation is thus referred to by the Reporter :—

“ But want of open spaces for recreation is not confined to the town population. In the rural districts the children and young persons of the villages have frequently no other places for recreation than the dusty road before their houses or the narrow and dirty lanes, and accidents frequently take place from the playing of children on the public highways. If they go into the fields they are trespassers, and injure the farmer. The want of proper spaces as play-grounds for children is detrimental to the morals as well as to the health in the towns, and it probably is so generally. The very scanty spaces which the children, both of the middle and the lower classes, the ill as well as the respectably educated, can obtain, force all into one company, to the detriment of the better children, for it is the rude and boisterous who obtain predominance. In the course of some investigations which I had occasion to make into the causes of juvenile delinquency, there appeared several cases of children of honest and industrious parents, who had been entrapped by boys of bad character ; I inquired how the more respectable children became acquainted with the depraved ; when it was shown that in the present state of many crowded neighbourhoods, all the children of a court, or of a street, were forced to play, if they had any play whatsoever, on such scraps of ground as they could get, and all were brought into acquaintanceship, and the range of influence of the depraved was extended. The condition of the children in large districts where there are no squares, no gardens attached to the houses, and no play-grounds even to their day-schools, and where they are of a condition in life to be withheld from playing in the streets, is pronounced to be a condition very injurious to their bodily development. The progress of the evil in the rural districts has been, to some extent, arrested by a beneficent standing order of the House of Commons, that all Enclosure Bills shall include provision for a reserve of land for the public use for recreation. For children, however, the most important reservations would be those which could be made for play-grounds in front of their homes, on plots where they may be under the eye of their mothers or their neighbours. Where the cottages are near a road, they should be some distance from it, with the gardens or play-ground in front. The separate or distant play-grounds have many inconveniences besides their being out of sight ; and where they are far distant, they are comparatively useless. I have great pleasure in being enabled to testify that the instances are frequent where the regulated resort to private pleasure-grounds and parks has been indulgently given for the recreation of the labouring population.”

We cannot forbear to add the following statement, made to Mr Chadwick, by the late Mr. Monck, of Coley House, Reading :—

“ ‘ The care taken of these cottages and gardens,’ said he, ‘ afford an excellent criterion of the character of the labourers. I have paid especial attention to those labourers who have displayed cleanliness and order; and I pay the most respect to those who have achieved a situation of the greatest comfort, and keep themselves and their houses cleanly, and their children tidy. Formerly the cottages were in bad order, their pavements and windows were broken; I had them all paved, and their windows glazed. I told the cottagers that I did not like to see shabby, broken windows, with patches of paper and things stuffed in, or broken pavements which they could not clean; and that I disliked Irish filth, and all Irish habits of living. I engaged, after the cottages were thoroughly repaired, to pay 1*l.* a-year for repairing them. I undertook to make the repairs myself, and deduct the expense from this 1*l.*; but if no repairs were wanted, they were to have the whole 1*l.* themselves. This course has, I find, formed habits of care; and their cottages are now so well taken care of that very little deduction is made annually from the 1*l.* Formerly they used to chop wood carelessly on their pavements, and break them; now they abstain from the practice, or do it in a careful manner, to avoid losing the money. In the winter, I give them two score of faggots towards their fuel. I have found that by this means I save my hedges and fences, and am pecuniarily no loser, whilst pilfering habits are repressed. Since the enclosures have been made, I think some place should be provided for the exercise and recreation of the working-classes, and especially for their children. I have set out four acres at Oldworth as a play-ground for the children, or whoever likes to play. They have now their cricket-matches, their quoit-playing, and their revels there. Sheep and cows feed on it; so that it is no great loss to me. I let it for 4*l.* a-year to a man, on condition that he cuts the hedges and keeps it neat. I have surrounded it with a double avenue of trees. The sheep and cows do good to the ground, as they keep the grass under, which allows the ball to run. I give prizes to the boys at the school, which is maintained by the cottagers themselves, and to which I contribute nothing but the prizes for reading, writing, and knitting.

“ ‘ Many persons accuse the poor of ingratitude, but I find them the most grateful people alive for these little attentions; and what do they all cost me? why not more altogether than the keep of one fat coach-horse.’ ”

This last is a golden truth. Use the poor rightly and righteously, and you will have small cause to complain of their ingratitude. As the case stands, we are still, we fear, on the debtor side of the balance, and have yet much to do, to give them proper motives to be grateful.

The *seventh* section of the Report discusses the “ Recognised principles of Legislation and state of the existing law for the protection of public health.”

The introduction is as follows :



“ It will have been perceived, that the first great remedies, external arrangements, *i. e.* efficient drainage, sewerage and cleansing of towns, come within the acknowledged province of the legislature. Public opinion has of late required legislative interference for the regulation of some points of the internal economy of certain places of work, and the appointment of special agents to protect young children engaged in certain classes of manufactures from mental deterioration, from the privation of the advantages of education, and from permanent bodily deterioration, from an excess of labour beyond their strength. Claims are now before Parliament for an extension of the like remedies to other classes of children and to young persons, who are deemed to be in the same need of protection. The legislature has interfered to put an end to one description of employment which was deemed afflicting and degrading, *i. e.* that of climbing-boys for sweeping chimneys, and to force a better means of performing by machinery the same work. It will be seen that it has been the policy of the legislature to interfere for the public protection by regulating the structure of private dwellings to prevent the extension of fires; and the common law has also interposed to protect the public health by preventing overcrowding in private tenements. The legislature has recently interfered to direct the poorer description of tenements in the metropolis to be properly cleansed. On considering the evidence before given with relation to the effects of the different classes of buildings, the suggestion immediately arises as to the extent to which it is practicable to protect the health of the labouring classes by measures for the amendment of the existing buildings, and for the regulation of new buildings in towns in the great proportion of cases where neither private benevolence nor enlightened views can be expected to prevail extensively.”

Few will feel any doubt, as to the *right* of the Legislature to interfere with matters that so deeply concern the health and happiness of the people. The only objection that could be made to this right, in its practical application, would be the captious one, arising from a sentimental theory of the liberty of the subject, and a morbid horror of interfering with it. But we cannot imagine that any man, rescued from drowning, would impeach his preserver for an interference with his liberty; nor do we apprehend that there would be any material difference between this supposed case and the real relation of some millions of our fellow-countrymen to those who should rescue them from their present abject condition, by wise enactments, temperately and considerably carried into execution. We can scarcely conceive of any *more* proper object for the interposition of the Government, than evils which so largely affect the people under its care; and those evils, in fact, have grown to so great a head, that the earliest attention that can be given to them must come full late.

We have quoted from the opening of this section; we shall

further quote from its close, in which are briefly stated the remedial means which suggested themselves to the writer. If we do not consider the means recommended as commensurate to the object, we so far concur with the Reporter as to think the adoption of them most desirable. The experiment might first be tried upon a few contiguous districts; and if the results should prove satisfactory, they might then be spread further, in the same or in other directions, as the exigencies of particular localities might require.

“On a full examination of the duties which are suggested for a district physician, or officer of public health, that which will appear to be most serious is not the extent of new duties suggested, but the extent of the neglect of duties existing. The wants, however, which it is a duty to represent and repeat, as the most immediate and pressing, for the relief of the labouring population, are those of drainage, cleansing, and the exercise of the business of an engineer, connected with commissions of sewers, to which the services of a board of health would be auxiliary. The business of a district physician connects him more immediately with the boards of guardians, which, as having the distribution of medical relief, and the services of medical officers, I would submit, may be made, with additional aid, to do more than can be done by any local boards of health of the description given, separated from any executive authority or self-acting means of bringing information before them.

“I have submitted the chief grounds on which it appears to me that whatever additional force may be needed for the protection of the public health, it would everywhere be obtained more economically with unity, and efficiency, and promptitude, by a single securely-qualified and well-appointed responsible local officer than by any new establishment applied in the creation of new local boards. Including, as sanitary measures, those for drainage and cleansing, and supplies of water as well as medical appliances, I would cite the remarks on provisions for the protection of the public health, made by Dr. Wilson at the conclusion of a report on the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Kelso. After having noted some particular improvements which had taken place, as it were, by chance, and independently of any particular aids of science directed to their furtherance, he remarks that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that much more might still be accomplished, could we be induced to profit by a gradually extending knowledge, so as to found upon it a more wisely directed practice. When man shall be brought to acknowledge (as truth must finally constrain him to acknowledge) that it is by his own hand, through his neglect of a few obvious rules, that the seeds of disease are most lavishly sown within his frame, and diffused over communities; when he shall have required of medical science to occupy itself rather with the prevention of maladies than with their cure; when governments shall be induced to consider the

preservation of a nation's health an object as important as the promotion of its commerce or the maintenance of its conquests, we may hope then to see the approach of those times when, after a life spent almost without sickness, we shall close the term of an unharrassed existence by a peaceful euthanasia."

The *eighth* section has for its subject, "Common Lodging-Houses."

The similarity of the evidence to that given in the early portions of the Report, takes from us the necessity of lingering over the details of this brief section. We shall content ourselves with one extract:—

"‘The lodging-houses,’ said Dr. Cowan, ‘are the media through which the newly arrived immigrants find their way to the fever hospital; and it is remarkable how many of the inmates of that hospital, coming from lodging-houses, have not been six months in the city.’ He might have added, these lodging-houses are the great *foci* of poverty, vice, and crime, as well as of disease. These houses are generally of a very wretched description, in low, unwholesome situations, exceedingly dirty and ill-ventilated, and are frequently crowded to excess, it being no uncommon thing to find 8, 10, and 12 persons in one small apartment, as 9 feet by 8, or 11 by 8. Some of them also have no beds whatever in them, the inmates lying on the bare floor, or with a few shavings below them, with their clothes on. A more particular description of them will be got in Captain Miller’s Papers on Crime in the City Proper, Mr. Rutherglen’s (one of the magistrates) on Calton, and Mr. Richardson on the Barony of Gorbals. It would appear from these published documents, and from what I have been able to learn otherwise, that the lodging-houses in the City Proper are decidedly of the worst description; but I am aware that the authorities are adopting means to have them in better order in future. In the burgh of Anderston they have for some time been under the surveillance of the police; and a record is kept of all lodging-houses for the accommodation of casual visitors in Gorbals (by which it appears that there were lately 92—50 kept by males, and 42 by females; only 25 of them entertain the lowest class of poor), so that they may be properly regulated. It is only in Calton, however, that they are attended to with that strict care which is requisite, and fortunately the last Police Act for that burgh gives ample powers for that purpose. It provides, by section 20, That no keeper of lodging-houses of an inferior description, for the accommodation of mendicant strangers and others, shall receive lodgers without the house having been inspected and approved of by the superintendent of police, and the superintendent is authorized to fix the number of lodgers who may be accommodated, and to order ticket containing the number of lodgers for which each house is registered; and any rules or instructions of the commissioners of police regarding health, cleanliness and ventilation, to be placed in a con-

spacious part of each room in which lodgers are received. It also provides that the keepers of such lodgings offending against these regulations shall be liable in penalties. Section 21 enacts, That in the event of any person in such houses becoming ill of fever or other disease, the keepers shall be bound to give intimation thereof to the superintendent of police or inspector, so that the disease may be inquired into and treated, and the magistrates are authorized to order such persons to be removed. And section 22 further enacts, That on any contagious or infectious disease occurring in any such lodging-houses, or in any house or apartment in any house, or apartment in any common tenement, &c., where there is reasonable apprehension of such diseases spreading, the magistrates may cause the remaining lodgers to be removed, and measures to be taken for the disinfecting and cleaning of the houses and apartments, and for the washing and purifying of the persons and clothes of the inhabitants.

“In addition to these excellent provisions, the magistrates of Calton, in virtue of the powers in their police Acts, have issued the following rules and instructions to be observed by all keepers of lodging-houses, viz.,—1st. The floors are to be washed at least twice in each week, viz., on Wednesday and Saturday. 2nd. The walls are to be white-washed, and the houses thoroughly cleaned, on the 1st day of each of the months of June, August, November and March, or on the following day if any of these days fall on Sunday. And, 3rd. The blankets used in all lodging-houses are to be thoroughly cleaned and scoured on the 8th day of each of the months of June, August, November and March, or on the following day if any of these days fall on Sunday; and if any person or persons in such house shall be affected with fever or other infectious disease, the blankets and bed-clothes used by such person or persons shall be thoroughly cleaned and scoured immediately after the removal of the diseased, and the bedding used by persons affected with contagious disease fumigated immediately after the removal of such person or persons. And where the bedding used is shavings or straw, the same shall be burnt immediately after such removal.

“These provisions and regulations have been very judiciously enforced by the magistrates of Calton and their superintendent of police, and have been productive of most beneficial results.”

The *ninth* and last section consists of a “Recapitulation of Conclusions.”

We give nearly the whole of this Summary entire. We cannot give it in fragments without gross injustice to the zealous and judicious Reporter:—

“After as careful an examination of the evidence collected as I have been enabled to make, I beg leave to recapitulate the chief conclusions which that evidence appears to me to establish.

“*First, as to the extent and operation of the evils which are the subject of the inquiry:—*



“ That the various forms of epidemic, endemic, and other disease caused, or aggravated, or propagated chiefly amongst the labouring classes by atmospheric impurities produced by decomposing animal and vegetable substances, by damp and filth, and close and over-crowded dwellings, prevail amongst the population in every part of the kingdom, whether dwelling in separate houses, in rural villages, in small towns, in the larger towns—as they have been found to prevail in the lowest districts of the metropolis.

“ That such disease, wherever its attacks are frequent, is always found in connexion with the physical circumstances above specified, and that where those circumstances are removed by drainage, proper cleansing, better ventilation, and other means of diminishing atmospheric impurity, the frequency and intensity of such disease is abated; and where the removal of the noxious agencies appears to be complete, such disease almost entirely disappears.

“ That high prosperity in respect to employment and wages, and various and abundant food, have afforded to the labouring classes no exemptions from attacks of epidemic disease, which have been as frequent and as fatal in periods of commercial and manufacturing prosperity as in any others.

“ That the formation of all habits of cleanliness is obstructed by defective supplies of water.

“ That the annual loss of life from filth and bad ventilation are greater than the loss from death or wounds in any wars in which the country has been engaged in modern times.

“ That of the 43,000 cases of widowhood, and 112,000 cases of destitute orphanage relieved from the poor's rates in England and Wales alone, it appears that the greatest proportion of deaths of the heads of families occurred from the above specified and other removable causes; that their ages were under 45 years; that is to say, 13 years below the natural probabilities of life, as shown by the experience of the whole population of Sweden.

“ That the public loss from the premature deaths of the heads of families is greater than can be represented by any enumeration of the pecuniary burdens consequent upon their sickness and death.

“ That, measuring the loss of working ability amongst large classes by the instances of gain, even from incomplete arrangements for the removal of noxious influences from places of work or from abodes, that this loss cannot be less than eight or ten years.

“ That the ravages of epidemics and other diseases do not diminish but tend to increase the pressure of population.

“ That in the districts where the mortality is the greatest, the births are not only sufficient to replace the numbers removed by death, but to add to the population.

“ That the younger population, bred up under noxious physical agencies, is inferior in physical organization and general health to a population preserved from the presence of such agencies.

“ That the population so exposed is less susceptible of moral in-

fluences, and the effects of education are more transient than with a healthy population.

“ That these adverse circumstances tend to produce an adult population short-lived, improvident, reckless, and intemperate, and with habitual avidity for sensual gratifications.

“ That these habits lead to the abandonment of all the conveniences and decencies of life, and especially lead to the overcrowding of their homes, which is destructive to the morality as well as the health of large classes of both sexes.

“ That defective town-cleansing fosters habits of the most abject degradation, and tends to the demoralization of large numbers of human beings, who subsist by means of what they find amidst the noxious filth accumulated in neglected streets and bye-places.

“ That the expenses of local public works are in general unequally and unfairly assessed, oppressively and uneconomically collected, by separate collections, wastefully expended in separate and inefficient operations by unskilled and practically irresponsible officers.

“ That the existing law for the protection of the public health and the constitutional machinery for reclaiming its execution, such as the Courts Leet, have fallen into desuetude, and are in the state indicated by the prevalence of the evils they were intended to prevent.

*“ Secondly, as to the means by which the present sanitary condition of the labouring classes may be improved :—*

“ The primary and most important measures, and at the same time the most practicable, and within the recognized province of public administration, are drainage, the removal of all refuse of habitations, streets, and roads, and the improvement of the supplies of water.

“ That the chief obstacles to the immediate removal of decomposing refuse of towns and habitations have been the expense and annoyance of the hand labour and cartage requisite for the purpose.

“ That this expense may be reduced to one-twentieth or to one-thirtieth, or rendered inconsiderable, by the use of water and self-acting means of removal by improved and cheaper sewers and drains.

“ That refuse when thus held in suspension in water may be most cheaply and innocuously conveyed to any distance out of towns, and also in the best form for productive use, and that the loss and injury by the pollution of natural streams may be avoided.

“ That for all these purposes, as well as for domestic use, better supplies of water are absolutely necessary.

“ That for successful and economical drainage, the adoption of geological areas as the basis of operations is requisite.

“ That appropriate scientific arrangements for public drainage would afford important facilities for private land-drainage, which is important for the health as well as sustenance of the labouring classes.

“ That the expense of public drainage, of supplies of water laid on in houses, and of means of improved cleansing would be a pecuniary gain, by diminishing the existing charges attendant on sickness and premature mortality.

“ That for the protection of the labouring classes and of the rate-payers against inefficiency and waste in all new structural arrangements for the protection of the public health, and to ensure public confidence that the expenditure will be beneficial, securities should be taken that all new local public works are devised and conducted by responsible officers qualified by the possession of the science and skill of civil engineers.

“ That the oppressiveness and injustice of levies for the whole immediate outlay on such works upon persons who have only short interests in the benefits may be avoided by care in spreading the expense over periods coincident with the benefits.

“ That, by appropriate arrangements, 10 or 15 per cent. on the ordinary outlay for drainage might be saved, which on an estimate of the expense of the necessary structural alterations of one-third only of the existing tenements would be a saving of one million and a half sterling, besides the reduction of the future expenses of management.

“ That for the prevention of the disease occasioned by defective ventilation, and other causes of impurity in places of work and other places where large numbers are assembled, and for the general promotion of the means necessary to prevent disease, that it would be good economy to appoint a district medical officer independent of private practice, and with the securities of special qualifications and responsibilities to initiate sanitary measures and reclaim the execution of the law.

“ That by the combinations of all these arrangements, it is probable that the full ensurable period of life indicated by the Swedish tables, that is, an increase of 13 years at least, may be extended to the whole of the labouring classes.

“ That the attainment of these and the other collateral advantages of reducing existing charges and expenditure are within the power of the legislature, and are dependent mainly on the securities taken for the application of practical science, skill, and economy in the direction of local public works.

“ And that the removal of noxious physical circumstances, and the promotion of civic, household, and personal cleanliness, are necessary to the improvement of the moral condition of the population; for that sound morality and refinement in manners and health are not long found co-existent with filthy habits amongst any class of the community.

“ I beg leave further to suggest, that the principles of amendment deduced from the inquiry will be found as applicable to Scotland as to England; and if so, it may be submitted for attention whether it might not be represented that the structural arrangements for drainage would be most conveniently carried out in the same form as in England, that is, by commissions, of the nature of commissions of sewers, adapted, as regards jurisdiction, to natural or geological areas, and including in them the chief elected officers of municipalities, and other authorities now charged with the care of the streets and roads, or connected with local public works.”

Without attempting to produce an analytical review, or even a satisfactory abstract, we have, we hope, extracted enough, in the foregoing pages, to give a tolerably correct idea of the nature of this very valuable and instructive publication. Looking at it simply as a repository of documentary evidence, its selections from returns, made from every part of the kingdom, and by men of various characters and employments, are sufficient in themselves to entitle it to high consideration; but when to these are added the observations, reasonings, and opinions of one who is obviously at home in the subject, and who has the cause warmly at heart, we do it but simple justice in pointing it out as a work which ought to be in every man's hands, who has any influence upon the welfare of his country, or any interest in the good of humanity. Our wish has been, not to supersede the reading of it, but to make it more extensively procured and read.

We have a few remarks to offer, before we part company with this paper. We have spoken, a few paragraphs back, of the *right* of the Legislature to interpose at such conjunctures. We might thus have taken—as we originally *did* take—much higher ground. We might have spoken of this use of the Right as a *DUTY*. It is not a mere idle *De-Courtesy* privilege, to be exerted once in a life, and then to lie dormant; but a Right that should be felt to involve in it a claim upon the use of it, and never suffered to be at rest until its work is done. The Legislature not only *may*, but *ought* to interpose, on full and accurate information that evils are on foot, the progress of which it may arrest, and the spread of which must eventually work upward, through every wheel of the state-machinery, to its springs. At such a conjuncture, no Government can do its duty, if, after due inquiry and ascertainment of the facts, it is content with the knowledge of the evils, without attempting to redress them.

But the *power of Power* may be indefinitely over-rated. Too much must not be hoped from any legislative interference. Under any hastening influences that can be brought to bear upon it, the ebb of Evil, in point of time, will always bear *some* proportion to its flow. Social changes, so nearly approaching to moral ones, cannot be wrought out by any sudden mechanical effort. Corrective processes, to be enduring, must almost always be gradual. We hope to see the Legislature take up in warm hearty earnest the cause of the Classes whose condition is thus affectingly brought before it; we hope that it will have the moral courage to face the *whole* evil; but we shall be



among the last to expect that it has only to pass laws for them to take effect, that the work of ages will be undone in a few seasons, or that health and happiness will gush forth all at once among the people, like the verdure of a polar summer upon the first melting of the snow. All, who form such expectations, not only nurse disappointments, but deserve them.

And, supposing the Legislature to have done all that it can immediately do, much, after all, must be left to the efforts of Christian philanthropy and of enlightened self-interest. This Report must have been read to little purpose if it has not exemplified how great is the power of the Landlord and of the Employer over the physical and moral condition of their tenants and workpeople. Were this power more widely and wisely used, how different would be the nature of the Report *then* presented to us! The multiplication of men, such as Messrs. Monck, Strutt, Greg, &c.,—how greatly would it have altered the social aspect of the country! It is under the banners they have raised, that we would enlist still more extensively those who stand in the same or in similar relations to the people. Do they *know* their own power? We think *not*;—for, if more known, more would certainly be done with it. Our towns would then silently spread into streets, at once peaceful and active; our rural districts would be dotted less and less sparingly with happy cottages and healthy villages. Our dram-shops would be abandoned, and our churches filled; and our rising population would be placed under a system of early and holy discipline which would qualify them for the duties of this life, and prepare them for its issues in another. We feel, at this moment, as if we could touch a prophet's harp;—but we wait to see if any thing will be done to dry the tears that are damp upon its strings.

J. J.

### ART. III.—NOTICES OF WILLIAM BRUCE, AND OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES AND FRIENDS, HUTCHESON, ABERNETHY, DUCHAL, AND OTHERS.

IN the Rev. J. Scott Porter's Sermon on the death of the late Dr. Bruce, mention is made of a William Bruce, "who had the honour of originating, and by his exertions was the chief instrument in establishing, the Widows' Fund, now of so much importance to the various Presbyterian bodies in the north of Ireland, and who received the public thanks of the assembled ministers for his services." A friend who knew my long intimacy with Dr. Bruce and my attachment to him and his surviving children, informed me that he had learned from a notice of Abernethy prefixed to his tracts, that there was an extraordinary character of a William Bruce in the 13th and 14th volumes of the Monthly Review, and expressed a wish that I would refer to them; which I did, and found what excited such an interest in the man as to make me desirous of doing, what my friend urged upon me, drawing up such particulars of him, as I could rescue from oblivion. With this view, I looked over many papers in the possession of my valued friend Samuel Bruce, eldest son of the Doctor, and found some documents in addition to what the Review supplied; but being interrupted in my pursuit by an illness of some weeks, and having, on my recovery, other business that required my immediate attention, what I had prepared was laid aside, and the intention given up, at least for a time. It has now been resumed, and I hope the delay will not render the subject less interesting to those who like inquiries into the olden times, and who wish that men of distinguished worth should not be buried in oblivion. It also deserves consideration that Mr. Bruce lived at a period respecting which we know too little, that he was connected with some of the principal persons of that time, and that therefore some inference may be drawn respecting the opinions prevalent among them, which some now living seem to have much mistaken.

William Bruce was the son of the Rev. James Bruce, of Killileagh, in the county Down, and had two older brothers in the ministry; viz. Michael Bruce, minister of Holywood, near Belfast, who was a member of the Belfast Society, and one of the ministers, who being driven from the Synod of Ulster in 1726 by the Non-Subscription question, formed the Presbytery

of Antrim; and Patrick Bruce, at first Minister of Drumbo, near Belfast, who, on his father's death, became his successor at Killileagh. William Bruce was born in 1702. At what time he went to Dublin does not appear; but in 1730 he was settled there as a bookseller, in connection with a Mr. John Smith, who had been educated for the ministry, with whom he had probably formed an intimacy at college. In 1737 or 1738, Mr. Bruce gave up this business, and accepted the offer of Mr. Henry, of Straffan, an eminent banker in Dublin, to be his son's tutor, with whom he travelled in England, residing for some time in Oxford and Cambridge, and probably also in Glasgow, where his friend and cousin Francis Hutcheson was at that time Professor of Moral Philosophy. He seems, however, to have paid occasional visits to Dublin, and to have finally returned there before 1746. He was at all times much engaged in the affairs of his friends, many of whom made him an executor; and he was also much occupied with public business, having not only engaged in the establishment of the Widows' Fund, but taking a great interest in promoting the welfare of the linen manufacture; and shortly before his death, in 1755, he was employed in writing pamphlets on the subject of a dispute between the Irish Parliament and English Privy Council respecting a money bill, which then occupied much attention, but was productive of no important results.\* One of Mr. Bruce's intimate friends, Mr. Alexander Stewart, was anxious to have one of these pamphlets reprinted in London, and wrote a preface for it, of which he sent Mr. Bruce a copy, but it was not published. On Mr. Bruce's death, Mr. Stewart was his executor, and to him all the property was bequeathed, in implicit dependence on Mr. Stewart that he would first see the debts discharged which Mr. Bruce had incurred, and then apply whatever might remain in equitable proportions amongst his relatives, a trust which it appears that Mr. Stewart most honourably fulfilled.† The rule "*noscitur a sociis*" is an old and approved

\* In 1753, Mr. Bruce published "Some Tracts and Observations relative to the fate of the late Linen Bill last Session of Parliament in this Kingdom." Men of the present day will not entertain the fear of seeing this country "overlaid with Indian calicoes and chintzes, foreign muslins and lawns, spotted and plain, and all kinds of foreign linens;" but, at that time, such was dreaded, and Mr. Bruce's pamphlet had great effect in preserving the protecting duties which were aimed at, and which no doubt were serviceable in their day, or at least were thought so. There were at least six pamphlets in 1754 and 1755 on the rejection of the Money Bill and subjects connected with it, but they are foreign to our main object.

† The conclusion of a paper of Instructions for Mr. Stewart, which was probably the last writing of William Bruce, is so characteristic of the man, and so strongly marks the close friendship with Mr. Stewart, that I hope its insertion will be interesting:—

"—— I hope these last offices to the friend he loved, even beyond his friend's

one; and we may, in estimating Mr. Bruce, refer to his intimacy with Professor Hutcheson, of Glasgow; Mr. Abernethy; Dr. Duchal; Dr. Halliday, of Belfast, who was, however, considerably his junior; Alexander Stewart, and Gabriel Cornwall. Professor Hutcheson, the son of a Presbyterian minister settled at Armagh, in the north of Ireland, was a cousin of William Bruce, and about eight years his senior. After being educated for the ministry, at Glasgow, on his return to Ireland in 1716, when about twenty-two years old, though he went through the usual forms, and was licensed to preach, instead of becoming a candidate for a congregation, he opened an academy in Dublin, and succeeded in establishing it. He soon became an object of attention to the literary men in that city, especially after he published his "Enquiry into the Ideas of Beauty and Virtue," which, though anonymous, was soon traced to the author. Dr. Synge, then or afterwards Bishop of Elphin, took great notice of him, and lived in habits of intimacy with him; and Archbishop King screened him from two attempts made to prosecute him for daring to undertake the instruction of youth, without having subscribed the necessary form, and being licensed as a teacher. From his unwillingness to subscribe, it may be inferred that he was not only a decided Dissenter from the Established Church, but also that he was averse to subscription, as (whatever may be now urged respecting their opinions) was the case with the Dublin Presbyterians of that day, with one of whose congregations he probably worshipped. It is a decided fact that many clever men of that day, originally intended for the ministry, did not continue in it, but devoted themselves to

wishes, will be acceptable, though, from their nature, they cannot be otherwise agreeable. He well knows, that in fact his friend has never been able to do him any important service, much less to compensate the numerous and most significant obligations he has been in the course of many years continually receiving from him; yet that from his internal disposition and affection there was nothing in his friend's power which he would not most readily have done at his desire. On a subject where no words can express the sentiments, few words are best. William Bruce has long counted it his honour as well as his joy to be esteemed the friend of Mr. Stewart, and he thinks it an inestimable circumstance of happiness that he dies his friend, loving and beloved. When I made my will, I fancied myself in better circumstances than I find, on a nearer inspection, to be the case; there must, therefore, be a rateable deduction, or any other that Mr. Stewart may think more proper, from the several sums specified in the paper enclosed with my will. Had I accustomed myself to have kept regular accounts, perhaps I should not have allowed myself in using so much money, but I have no reproach upon my mind in regard to it, never having spent any part of it wickedly, or foolishly, or unsuitably to my station and character of a sober, chaste, and honest man.

"June 25th, 1755."

"WILL: BRUCE."

It may be added, that, so far from any deduction being necessary, Mr. Stewart was able to make a rateable addition to all the sums left by Mr. Bruce to his relatives, after an honourable discharge of all Mr. Bruce's debts, which, in his illness, he probably magnified.



education. Mr. Hutcheson, however, though determined to maintain his freedom, did not devote his time to theological disputes. In 1728 he published "*A Treatise on the Passions*;" and in the following year accepted an invitation to the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, which he continued to fill during the remainder of his life. He died in 1746, between the 30th of June, when his will was signed, and the 21st of August, when it was proved in Dublin. In that will he calls William Bruce his cousin, and leaves him £100. In a correspondence of William Bruce with a relative in the county Down, which throws but little light on his history, but which contains abundant proof of his attachment to his friends, and of his habitual piety and reference to the Supreme Being, especially on the occurrence of either joyful or distressing events, he often mentions "Cousin Hutcheson." It is not unlikely that Mr. Hutcheson's settlement in Dublin was a principal cause of William Bruce also going there; and he appears to have almost made it a point to be in Dublin at the time when Hutcheson, during his college vacations, often visited it. Hutcheson's *System of Moral Philosophy* was published from his manuscripts, some years after his death, by his son Dr. Francis Hutcheson, who became an eminent physician in Dublin, and Professor of Chemistry in the University, with a preface by Dr. Leechman, the contemporary and friend of the lecturer. In procuring subscriptions for this work, William Bruce exerted himself, and the publication took place shortly before his own death. Amongst the papers which I have examined, is an Epitaph in Latin for Francis Hutcheson and William Bruce, who were buried in the same tomb. It was written by Gabriel Cornwall, the friend of both, and it attributes the erection of the Monument to Alexander Stewart, of Newtown, county Down. In this epitaph, which is too long for its purpose, and was probably never engraved, there is not a word of the deity of the Saviour, or of the atonement in the way we often find them expressed. After a full description of the peculiar talents and acquirements of each, we have this passage:—"Sed nec, ut nunc sunt mores, hi viri, sortis hominum immemores aut plus æquo sibi fidentes, aspernabantur quas de impetranda pace conditiones dignatus est hominum ille pater atque rex, ipsis consulens, de que iis, patriæ cælestis et sui oblitis, in viam reducendis sollicitus; quin lætissimorum nuncio cœlis demisso, eam illi præstabant fidem quam veré pios decuit, hinc inde rationum momentis ritè pensitatis; posthabitis vero opinionum commentis, quibus nulla unquam sævior incubuit pestis, nec quæ pietati magis fuerit fraudi."\*

\* "These men did not, as is now too frequently the case, from disregard to this

We have in these lines the assertion of complete freedom in religious matters, and yet an ardent attachment to the revealed will of God. The "*commenta opinionum*" must be the articles of human invention imposed on men, and they are condemned in no measured terms.\*

Another friend of William Bruce, who was older than himself, was John Abernethy, the author of *Sermons and Tracts*. So many particulars have been published respecting this excellent man, that I shall confine myself to what bears upon my object. He was the son of a Presbyterian minister, and was ordained minister of Antrim in 1703, being 21 years old, soon after W. Bruce was born. He was an active member of the Belfast Society, the professed aim of which was "to bring things to the test of reason and scripture." In this Society he met Michael Bruce of Holywood, elder brother of William, and both were cut off from the Synod in 1726. They were countenanced and supported by the Dublin ministers of that day in holding that our Lord Jesus Christ has himself fixed the terms of communion; that all who comply with these have a right to communion; and that no man or set of men have power to add to those settled in the Gospel; that no church has a right to impose subscription; and that to call on men for declarations of faith on penalty of cutting them off from communion is an exorbitant and arbitrary power, and is really an inquisition. These, not any peculiar doctrine, were the distinguishing characteristics of the Presbyterians in England of that day—of the Presbytery of Antrim—and of the Synod of Munster. Because these men threw off the trammels of creeds, it is now sought to deprive their children and successors of the meeting-houses in which they preached, and the funds attached to them, and give them to men holding the very same opinions as those who ejected them from their communion—as those who forsook their congregations and established new ones—to those who are opposed to and violate every principle which the others laid down and maintained through evil report and good

mortal state, and from over confidence in themselves, neglect those conditions for obtaining forgiveness which our heavenly Father thought fit to appoint, in his desire to bring back to the right way those who had been forgetful of their heavenly country, but they showed that faith, which pious men ought, in the messenger of glad tidings who was sent down from heaven, duly weighing the arguments on every side, but laying little stress on those statements of opinions (articles of faith) than which there was never a greater pest or one more injurious to piety."

\* There is a fuller account of Professor Hutcheson, in the *Moderator*, an English periodical in the years 1827, 1828. It occurs in a series of papers on "the Progress of Non-subscription," by the late Dr. Bruce, which it would be desirable to rescue from their present oblivion; for however well conducted a periodical may be, unless it have a large circulation and a continued existence, papers published in it are completely lost. The curious reader will find the article referred to in the 2nd vol. p. 348—354.

report, nay, would have adhered to in the most trying circumstances.

In consequence then of the disquietude in the North, Abernethy consented to remove to Wood Street, Dublin, though he had before declined doing so. This was in 1730. William Bruce was a member of the congregation to which he removed, and as early at least as 1733 they were fellow-labourers in efforts to promote a repeal of the Test laws. They continued intimate friends for the remainder of Abernethy's life, but his death took place in 1740, after Mr. Bruce had gone with young Mr. Henry to England. It was after Mr. Abernethy's death that his tracts and miscellaneous Sermons were printed, under the care of Dr. Duchal, but the Sermons "on the Attributes" were published in his lifetime, and were much admired by distinguished men of various opinions.

Dr. Duchal, another friend of William Bruce, was his senior by about five years. He was a native of the neighbourhood of Antrim, and had received his early education from Abernethy, whom he succeeded at Antrim in 1730, and at Wood Street, Dublin, in 1740. Previously to his settlement in Antrim he had officiated as a minister at Cambridge, where he availed himself of his situation to prosecute his studies to much advantage. Though intimate with Michael Bruce and known to William, the close friendship between him and the latter probably commenced after Duchal's coming to Dublin. There is a letter preserved from Duchal to William Bruce, dated October 1, 1742, which gives evidence not only of his esteem for William Bruce, but also of his attachment to sentiments which are far too free to be approved of by the Calvinistic party, who, to answer a purpose, would now claim him as their own. There is a passage respecting Abernethy, too, which deserves notice. Speaking of his (Abernethy's) diary, from which he made some quotations, he says, "there are some passages pretty amazing that I could publish, but they have now only one voucher." It would be very desirable this diary could be recovered, for Duchal was evidently afraid to publish *all* he met with. This letter puts it out of doubt that Dr. Duchal was the author of the account of Abernethy's life, which, though suspected, was not considered certain. Dr. Duchal also wrote the letter to Alexander Stewart prefixed to Cornwall's pamphlet to be hereafter noticed. He died in 1761.

The following letter from Dr. Duchal to William Bruce is not only interesting from its connection with Abernethy, but also proves the great respect in which Mr. Bruce was held by Dr.

Duchal. It is followed by Dr. Duchal's letter to Mr Stewart, which has been referred to.

*" To Mr. Wm. Bruce.*

*" Oct. 1, 1742.*

" DEAR SIR,—I came some days ago from the North, and found your kind letter waiting for me. If you knew what a value we put upon your letters, you would not find in your heart to refuse them, but of this enough. I had so much to say about my old friends in Cambridge that I chose to say nothing, especially as I did not imagine you would be conversant among them. I do remember them with the utmost tenderness, and there spent my most delightful days.

" I shall not now trouble you with philosophical inquiries, for I must fill this paper with other affairs. Jack Abernethy has consented to give me the manuscripts, and Mr. Smith will publish two volumes this winter, which must take their fate. Many imagine the better way would be to print them in London, about which I would be glad to have your opinion. In the mean time I am not a little at a loss about the preface, having now no friend in town that can give me any assistance. The general plan I think is obvious, viz., some account of his life, and as an introduction to the sermons upon liberty, which we propose to place in the front, a compendious delineation of the arguments by which our separation from the Established Church is justified. But the execution is all. I need not tell you how much I am disposed to drudge in it, but I need as little tell you how imperfect the performance is like to be ; and I assure you I never knew as much perplexity about any thing of that nature. However, I design to set about it without loss of time, and I hope may have an opportunity of sending it over for your perusal by a London ship before it be put to the press. And that I may have all the assistance that you can give me at a distance, pray be so good as in your next letter (a half sheet will hold many short hints) to mention the main foundations upon which you think the stress of the controversy between the Church and us rests. It is evident, that where conscience is to be the sole guide, authority can have no place ; that no man can have any authority over another ; and that no man can invest another with authority over himself ; nor is it less evident that no man can promise a constant adherence to any system, no, nor even to his own present principles, for that is a matter quite out of his power. Again, it will bear no debate that the rules laid down in the Holy Scriptures are so to be interpreted as to be consistent with these self-evident maxims ; and that no criticism can be good for anything that militates against common sense as well as (against) the Genius of Christianity. It is too apparent that indifferent things should never be imposed at all, for that is an abuse that the generosity of the human heart, and the Holy Scriptures equally abhor. Upon these principles we must set out, but I mention them just that I may draw you in to give me as complete a scheme of them as you can in a long letter. I would have nothing wrote in a preface to the works of that astonishing man but what is



clear and strong, to which, though things may be said, nothing could be answered. I will be trusted with his Diary, but still I shall want some particulars of his life, in which I believe no one can help me. And there are some passages pretty amazing that I could publish, but they have now only one voucher.——I have a nephew grown to man, discreet and sensible for his education, that was over in Scotland three months this summer. From him I had a very particular account of things there, and a sight of the principal pamphlets wrote in their controversies. I find they are in a very bad state. Divided among themselves, and the parties refusing to keep communion with one another. Mr. Whitefield, who has had a large harvest there, is coming over to this country. The affair of Canbhslang, near Glasgow, makes a very great noise, and that which they call conversion work is spreading much in the country. What we heard of men falling into convulsive fits at sermons is really true. That there is much enthusiasm in the affair is certain. But if men really turn from evil to the practice of virtue (and that it is so all the favourers of that work affirm), it must be enthusiasm of the best kind, and all friends to virtue will wish well to it. How it will turn out in the issue must be left to time to explain. The Seceding Presbytery, usually called the Erskinites, upon an application from a few giddy people in the head of Templepatrick and Killead parish, have very rashly sent over a candidate who when I was at Antrim preached two Lord's days to vast multitudes. He has returned, and has along with him a supplication subscribed by considerable numbers for a minister of that kidney. It's happy that we live in an age wherein these things may be done without persecution, but I am very sorry that liberty is so much abused, for if this attempt succeeds the whole country will be put into a new flame, and I believe followed with consequences much worse than the last.

"I found my friends in Antrim and Belfast well, and I expect Mr. Drennan shortly up. I hope Mr. Maclaine's situation in Antrim will turn out to be comfortable. What measures the Wood-street people will take I do not know, nor do I hear the least mention of it; but have been long of opinion that some members the least serviceable to the congregation take most upon them in it. They all continue very civil to myself. But I find it a most sensible loss that I cannot now, within a bow-shot of Essex-bridge, get advice upon any emergency. I have tired you out with a long letter. Remember with kindness your weak but most affectionate friend. While I may use that designation it will be a most pleasing circumstance in life, and may God ever bless you.

"J. DUCHAL."

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*"To Alexander Stewart, of Newtown, Esq.*

"SIR,—The following letter, which is an essay upon the character of the late Mr. William Bruce, I received from a gentleman who was for many years one of his intimate friends; and it is thought proper upon many accounts to publish it. It is not improbable that some, who knew not that excellent man, may look upon the extraordinary, indeed amazing character here given him, as very much the creature of warmed

imagination; and think the author hath been labouring, whether with exact justice or not, to crowd into it all the virtues and graces with which human nature can be enriched. But the matter is far otherwise; there is through the whole a strict regard to truth and to represent real life. This you, Sir, and all who had the happiness of knowing Mr. Bruce, will upon the perusal of the letter immediately discern; and you will not wonder, you cannot be displeased, that it is dedicated to you, who have lived so many years with Mr. Bruce in the strongest bonds of friendship, and in all the intimacies and highest delicacies of it, without interruption; especially as this essay will preserve the memory of that mutually honourable friendship so long as the essay itself shall last. The fulness of my heart suggesteth a great deal more upon this occasion, but I should do wrong to the reader if I detained him longer from taking a view of human life "in its noblest finishing," and what are rarely, very rarely, to be met with.

"Sir, your most obedient servant,

"August 25, 1755."

"J. DUCHAL."

Dr. Halliday of Belfast was much younger than William Bruce. He was a son of Mr. Halliday, the minister of Belfast in the time of the Non-subscription struggle, and had as his tutor Mr. Drennan, who was afterwards minister of the same congregation in Belfast, another intimate friend of William Bruce and father of Dr. Drennan, noted for his political writings, and some poems collected in "Fugitive Pieces." The son and pupil of such men was a zealous friend of civil and religious liberty, and at the same time was held in general estimation for his virtues and talents.\* His great nephew, the present High Sheriff of the county of Antrim, maintains and dignifies the principles of his predecessor, and is an active member of the congregation at Holywood, which is connected with the Presbytery of Antrim. Those who have read the life of Lord Charlemont, or are acquainted with events in the time of the first volunteers, cannot be ignorant of Dr. Halliday. His intercourse with William Bruce could not have been great, but letters that have been preserved show his esteem and regard, and on Mr. Bruce's death the tribute to his memory in a poem called "Brutus," proceeded from the pen of Dr. Halliday. The curious may find a notice of it in the 14th volume of the *Monthly Review*, p. 351—6.

I have not been able to trace the commencement of Mr. Bruce's intimacy with Mr. Stewart or Mr. Cornwall, both of whom seem to have been more nearly of his own age than those

\* There is an interesting tribute to the memory of Dr. Halliday, by Dr. Drennan, preserved in what he published as "Fugitive Pieces in Verse and Prose," a small volume printed by Finlay, Belfast, in 1815, which deserves to be more noticed than it appears to have been.

before mentioned, and both of whom survived him many years. The former, to whom Mr. Duchal dedicated the Essay on Mr. Bruce, of which notice has to be taken, as "having lived so many years with Mr. Bruce, in the strictest bonds of friendship, and in all the intimacies and highest delicacies of it, without interruption," was the grandfather of the present Marquis of Londonderry, and the purchaser of the Down property held by that nobleman. He fixed his residence at Mount Stewart, near Newtownards, and was a leading member of the Presbyterian congregation in that town, the minister of which had been ejected by the Synod, in 1726, and was a member of the Presbytery of Antrim. Mr. Stewart appears to have been a warm and steady friend of civil and religious liberty. When in Dublin, he was a member of Wood-street, and after the removal of that congregation to Strand-street, he was a member of the latter till his death, at a very advanced age, in 1781. He was a very liberal contributor to the funds, both in Dublin and Newtownards. His character was, in every view, highly estimable; and the large property which he handed down to his descendants continues to be remarkable for good management, and for the improvement and happiness of the tenantry.

His son, afterwards the Right Hon. Robert Stewart, and first Marquis of Londonderry, was educated at Geneva, under the care of James Bruce, a nephew of William Bruce, several of whose letters from Geneva have been preserved. I am here induced to notice the practice of several gentlemen, among the Protestant Dissenters of large fortune, respecting their sons. They did not send them to the universities, which were regarded as belonging to the establishment, nor even to the Scotch ones, to be under the professors only, but they selected some gentleman, whether educated as a clergyman or otherwise, to take charge of their education, and reside with them, either at different places in succession, or at some one place thought eligible, and also to be with them at home. Mr. W. Bruce, we have seen, took charge of Mr. Henry, whom he accompanied to Oxford and Cambridge, and probably also to Glasgow. He had, no doubt, a liberal allowance, and could enjoy many of the advantages of the English universities, without being subject to their laws. Mr. Cornwall, in like manner, had the care of Mr. Damer's nephew, whose name was Clavell; and Mr. James Bruce accompanied Mr. Robert Stewart to Geneva. When the dissenting academy of Warrington was established, a few years afterwards, Mr. Alexander sent his son, who was successively Bishop of Down and Meath, to that seminary, where also went young Mr. Hare, of Cork, afterwards Lord Listowell, and Mr. Jacob, of the

county of Tipperary. Mr. Bagwell, of the latter county, went to the continent, accompanied by Mr. William Campbell, afterwards Dr. Campbell, successively minister of Armagh and Clonmel. All these gentlemen were of wealthy families amongst the Protestant Dissenters; and their descendants have, I believe, in all instances, become members of the Established Church. The very principle of non-subscription prevents any undue influence being used with youth, so as to leave them the liberty their fathers had enjoyed, and the only object was to bring them up intelligent and useful members of society. Their continuance in the faith of their fathers depended on many circumstances which might occur; but I believe there has been rarely an instance in which the young men so educated have not been highly respectable members of society. If sons, however, educated in such liberty, should go *further* from the favourite creeds, instead of adopting them, then there are men (*proh pudor!*) who would make them suffer for using the liberty in which they were early encouraged.

One other friend of William Bruce must be noticed, Gabriel Cornwall; he was chosen by John Damer, Esq., of Shrone-hill, near Tipperary, as tutor of his sister's son, Mr. Clavell, of Dorsetshire. This Mr. Damer had succeeded to the large fortune of an uncle, who, going from Dorsetshire, had purchased a large estate in Ireland, and who died in 1720. Both uncle and nephew had the character of being great misers; and there is a letter of Mr. Cornwall's which confirms this, with respect to the latter; but men of miserly habits often do very liberal actions, and we have no right to question the motive, for we know, from sad experience, how great is the inconsistency of men. There are Cornwalls, I believe, to this day,—certainly were not long since,—in that part of Tipperary; but whether any way connected with this Gabriel Cornwall, I cannot ascertain. Be it as it may, he seems to have had Mr. Damer's good opinion. Of Mr. Damer I shall only add, that he probably continued a Dissenter till his death, at a very advanced age, when the property came to his nephew, who had previously inherited the Dorsetshire estate, and who was created a peer in 1753, in his uncle's lifetime, if, according to Lodge's Peerage, he lived till 1768. Mr. Cornwall, when resident with his pupil at Glasgow, in a letter dated June 1, 1742, mentions to Mr. Bruce, that there was "a little dirty tool, eternally on the scent of heresy, who took great offence at Leechman's calling our Saviour a being, instead of a person; so that it would seem there are persons not beings. Rare divinity!" The writer of this sentence, or the person to whom it was addressed, could not, I think, have



adopted the Westminster Confession, or been sound Trinitarian ; yet this G. Cornwall was himself an attendant at Wood-street, when in Dublin, the friend of W. Bruce, an elder of Wood-street, the friend of Leechman and Hutcheson in Glasgow, a member of Strand-street Congregation, on the removal from Wood-street, a liberal subscriber to it for the remainder of his life, the third in the list of subscribers to Dr. Bruce's call in 1782, immediately following Andrew Caldwell and Travers Hartley, who were both members of parliament ; and at his death, in 1786, he left several valuable books to the Strand-street Library.

The following letters from Mr. Cornwall are introduced, not only as containing some interesting particulars, but also as showing the peculiar style of the writer, and proving by internal evidence, what was commonly reported, that Mr. C. was the writer of the Essay on Mr. Bruce's character.

*“ To Mr. William Bruce, to the care of Mr. John Smith, Bookseller, on the Blind Quay, Dublin.*

*“ Glasgow, June 1, 1742.*

“ I should, my dear Mr. Bruce, have acknowledged the favour of yours long ere this, but that I intended, forsooth, at the same time, to have answered it. Believe me, I wanted not the will but the power. Often and long, though, alas ! in vain, have I waited to catch some lucky moments ; oft, and in vain, besought the Muse's aid : ‘ Descende cœlo et die age.’ Why I know not, but so it is, I am not in the good graces of these damsels, ‘ Neque vocatus audit Apollo.’ And you know, as in theology, so in poetry, we can do nothing of ourselves. Thus, unassisted and uninspired, ‘ quæ tibi, quæ tali reddam pro carmine dona !’ Never sure did poet sing in such exalted strains, such flowing harmony of sense and sound, without a double portion of the Muse's spirit ; but you are a favourite. Even I, at first reading, caught some of it, tho' 'tis since evaporated. I am now too dull to feel or to express those lively, pure emotions of joy with which you transported me through two whole pages. Bless me ! thought I, what happy, noble images, what glowing warmth of sentiment, how just, how elevating, thus painted out in all the riches and strength of colouring, chastened with correctness of expression and design ! And blessed (be) the kind hand, who has dispensed to his admiring friend (without hopes of return, beyond the want of it) such important lessons in a dress so charming ! Thus, in my first heat of fancy, which was (too) violent to last. You had taken me in too high a key, and it was impossible to bear being strained to so high a pitch. Sober reason took me down from several meditated flights ; bid me beware initating where I could not succeed. ‘ Quisquis studet æmulari,’ &c., quoth the grave lady, rather chuse the humbler and the better way ; instead of soaring beyond your reach, treasure up

his excellent instructions in your heart: be that your best answer. I assented, and have endeavoured to obey the sage advice. Happy union of philosophy and poetry! each from the other receiving beauty, grace, and dignity! But no more. Let me now chat with you on more easy terms the short remainder of my time.

“ Our journey to England is determined—had last week an answer from Mr. Damer to a letter I had wrote him on that head. Intend setting out to-morrow or next day. After no little trouble in equipping, and a disappointment in horses I had hired from hence (for the better, I hope, as the hire and keeping would have been extravagant this dear season), have resolved to take the post road to London, and thence, after some time, the Salisbury stage; and thus, as we shall probably return the west road, have an opportunity of seeing a good part of England. As my pupil has but slowly recovered his late illness, shall be obliged to make short stages. Am in some pain about him, though his physician thinks the journey, well managed, will much conduce to his health; and I hope so much exercise will have a good effect on mine: never better, I thank God, than at present, and ever since last escape from the spleen. May it be such, indeed! We are almost deserted by every body, except some who reside during the vacation—Dr. Macmeichan and his pupil are of the number. (I made the Dr. expect a letter from you. He is an honest soul, and I know a line from you would be as grateful to him as showers, at present, to the thirsty plains. I admonished him in your name and by your authority, contradicted that precept of Horace, ‘*Vos exemplaria Græca*,’ &c., and, as the easiest transition from Plato, to labour at the fol. edition of John Bunyan.) Haliday likewise stays. Poor Bob! seems to have a lively genius and good nature, but is idle, I am afraid.\* The saint and the poet (your nephews) are gone. I heartily love and esteem them both. I regret it that we have little hopes of Jemmy next winter.† Blackwood took his degree, and after, printed a Thesis; had I time, could tell you some little merry incidents about it, but you will hear them all, and I have just now twenty importunate trifles at my elbow pulling me away from you.

“ This will prevent my saying much on an affair you hint at to Mr. Hutcheson, and by a letter from H. Stratford: nor need I. Mr. Damer says not a syllable to me of any such matter, and sure had it been true he would have desired an explanation on that head. It was far from my thoughts, nor had I reason to insinuate any thing to the boy’s disadvantage: and had it been otherwise, would have chosen another conveyance than —, who I know is honester than wise. He, I doubt not, from a wrong-headed sagacity, gave rise to the supposed misunderstanding of a short paragraph in a letter to him, which I think was altogether unexceptionable. Be this as it will, I have provided against any mistake that might have happened, by writing to Mr. Damer. We have had a very agreeable winter. Be the summer equally so, or even less, and I ask no more. Have wrote to Mr. Smith, and given him a small com-

\* This was not the Doctor, whose first name was Alexander.

James Bruce, another nephew, and probably the future tutor of Mr. Stewart.

mission from Barry. This is a sorry place in the bookselling way. A rumour only of Middleton's book has reached us, and we know no more of the literary world than Laplanders; no news; nothing lively; no wit. This day Mr. Buchanan, a London merchant, and brother to the present Provost, has been unanimously elected for this district of boroughs. You will see and I believe like a sermon preached here last Synod. 'Tis said a proper distribution of cockades, &c. has much abated the spirit of patriotism in (this) country; 'O venalis civitas,' &c.! Possibly, if the coast be clear of pirates, we may return by Bristol, Cork, and Dublin; in this case, shall have the pleasure of seeing you and other friends; a pleasure I now despair of in this place.

"Will you give me all your news; and direct to Mrs. Clavell's at Smedmore near Corff Castle, where I hope to arrive about the beginning of July. I should want a muse to prompt me were I to call over all the good people I wish to be remembered to. You know most of them and will do it. May I add the trouble of calling at Mrs. Maudlin Hamilton with my compliments, and of informing me how she is. What news of Mr. Duchal? I have seen his sermon and memoirs. All friends are well. Here is a fine prospect, but markets still high. Our divinity professor seems dwindling into nothing, or worse. Somebody has thrown away a sheet of advice upon him, of which I got a copy; but I fancy 'tis 'fabulam surdo.' Here is a little dirty tool, eternally on the scent of heresy, one ——— who took great offence at Leechman's calling our Saviour a being, instead of person, so that it would seem there are persons not beings. Rare divinity!

"And now I have settled accounts with all my correspondents, among whom you are last in order; but sure, though last, not least in the love and esteem of

"Yours most entirely,

"GABRIEL CORNWALL."

"P.S. I have been prevented from writing to Mr. Henry till this day. I desire him to send me a letter of credit to his correspondent in London, to be left for me at Mr. Andrew Millar's, Bookseller, at Buchanan's head, opposite St. Clement's church in the Strand. Now, as I have been so late in writing, and expect to reach London by the 15th inst. at furthest, that Mr. Henry's order may arrive in time, must beg of you to see that he neither forget, nor delay writing."

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"To Mr. William Bruce, at Mr. Smith's, Bookseller, on the Blind Quay, Dublin, Free Carbery.

"Shronehill, July 15, 1747.

"My good Friend,—I take this first opportunity, *cum privilegio*, of fulfilling a sort of promise, though nothing material has occurred. And it may be among the last, our stay here being very uncertain, as depending on accounts of Mrs. Clavell's health, not yet arrived. To all

appearance, we have been graciously received; but 'tis not our uncle's\* manner to press any one against inclination and convenience. For my own part, who have almost equal business every where, I am in no hurry while we are or seem to be welcome, which for some time, I am told, is generally the fortune of new comers, till the gloss wears off, and a string of little histories are out. If words will pass in payment, here is good store of munificence and charity, and concern for the public; multitudes of generous plans and projects; infallible cures for Irish maladies, if duly administered, and tending to the health of our dear country. But alas! all these salutary effects defeated by conceited, obstinate, selfish, evil-minded state-doctors, Parliaments and Societies—so that what can single unsupported patriotism do against such odds? That any should see themselves through such false glasses of their own forging, while their nakedness and deformity stand exposed to every other eye! yet so it is, and are not the hearts of these Laodiceans deceitful above all things, if not desperately wicked? But enough of some bad neighbours. Now for a little charity at home. One is apt to frame pictures of places and persons they hear much of, or are likely to see often, with small resemblance of the original; the case of my hearsay fancied portrait, and the man of this great mansion. For an old, infirm, unsocial monkish mortal, I found the spirit and vivacity of a Frenchman, an easy, affable, pleasant companion; full of humorous well-told stories, and scraps of verse and sayings of philosophers, and of his knowledge in natural history, and the Georgics, and politics, and theologies, &c. of all extremely communicative, as more patient of speaking than hearing or contradiction, though not impatient neither; for sometimes ready to burst for want of due discharge; I pour forth a deluge which is not ill received, even though it stem the former current or divert it into a new channel, but generally these conflicts are short, and velocity quickly spent is borne down by quantity of matter.—But not to run out in metaphor, the short time I am allowed, one seldom sees more of the poets '*cruda viridisque senectus*' betwixt seventy and eighty. I do not forget your lesson, of the *molliora tempora fandi*, which often cast up, as charitable projects are a favourite topic, and which I have laid hold of, and will, with all the address in my power, though with scarce any hope, for as a great modern quotes it, 'good words are the wise man's counters and the miser's money'—rather I perceive a faculty of not hearing and not speaking at all, where words alone are not the proper answer, and a dexterity in guarding every avenue that might lay open to expense, with suspicion that never sleeps at the gate of avarice. When yet, amidst all this rust of wealth, it blesses itself as rich towards God, and a notable steward of his manifold grace, it would amaze you to see this. However, if any thing has been insinuated through such obstacles, let it work. I own I am hopeless so far; unless vanity perhaps, another leading passion, may deign silently to take the hint which it hates to borrow.—Now I am alone a little again, stupified with eating and drinking, and fetching a long walk eked

\* Mr. Damer, uncle of his pupil, from whose seat he wrote.



out with long winded stories and genealogies of a Scotch colony, sprinkled round this wide domain; nay, here are Bruces, but most miserably of the *fuimus* kind. And here I might say something of this place and people, but must cut short. 'Tis truly a golden vale, but the inhabitants seem not of that age. And here is a mighty mass of building (with brazen bolts and bars and blunderbusses) likely to become a fine ruin. I am just ordered towards the Shannon to-morrow, and now bid you heartily farewell. Make my compliments, &c. &c. I wrote to friend Mackay and had a line, and shall probably visit him the beginning of the week. We spent a day very agreeably in reconnoitring the extensive improvements at Thomas town, and were elegantly entertained by the squire, &c. I wish you joy of the pickings of St. Domingo; and it might have been worse at Kisselt. Whence is it we can never bring all our force to bear? but 'tis well British and Hanoverian prowess is almost as invincible as Batavian phlegm. If you have any good news, public or private, shall thank you for it, or shall be content you write by proxy, knowing your infirmities and multiplicity of affairs. Pray how is your sister—and Sam's cold.\* I scarce know what to wish you—but the continuance of what you already have (a few smaller things excepted). Amen—yours and most cordially,

“ G. C.”

This Mr. Cornwall, on the death of William Bruce, had a letter printed without his name, entitled, “An Essay on the Character of the late Mr. William Bruce, in a Letter to a Friend.”

This letter, dated August 11, 1755, was introduced by a letter to Alexander Stewart, of Newtown, Esq., written by Dr. Duchal, who averred the truth and accuracy of the character, and appealed to Mr. Stewart as knowing this to be the case. It afterwards became known that Mr. Cornwall was the writer, and Mr. Stewart, the friend to whom and at whose desire it was written. I may add that the reviewer, whoever he was,—and in the early times of the “Monthly Review,” and for anything I know it may be the case to the present time, the gentlemen employed to review were always men of respectability,—the reviewer, I say, in reprinting the whole essay, with the exception of one note, declares his own knowledge of the correctness of the account.—See “Monthly Review,” vol. 13, p. 253—267. I shall proceed to make some extracts from this essay; and first we are told “that on the slightest acquaintance with Mr. Bruce, one saw in him a most exact regard to all the decencies and proprieties of life, such an evident desire to oblige and to make

\* The widow of Michael Bruce, of Holywood, and mother of the Rev. Samuel Bruce, about that time settled at Wood Street.

all about him easy, as became a good mind and a liberal education. His general behaviour bore the genuine stamp of true politeness, the result of an overflowing humanity and benevolence of heart. In him were happily blended true dignity with softness of manners ; this simple and sincere, the offspring of good-will : his dignity, commanding reverence, the result of unaffected wisdom : without anything ungracious or forbidding, it only checked the sallies of petulance and folly, while his gentle and winning address produced into light and encouraged modest merit."

This is given as the result of first impressions, and to me it appears as if I were reading an account of my deceased friend the great nephew of the person described, so applicable is it to his appearance and manners, and his remarkable attention to the decencies and proprieties of life, which made him beloved by his intimate friends, and respected by all who knew him, though strangers were apt to feel a greater awe of him than his real benevolence would seem to warrant. But to return from this digression, which forced itself on my mind, Mr. Bruce "thought that religion grew from the best principles of our nature, that it trains them up to their highest perfection, best securing the peace and happiness of individuals and of communities. In consequence of this he took great pleasure in the natural and proper expressions of that veneration which is due to the Supreme Being, and in the most public and solemn testimonies of it. At the same time, and on all occasions, he showed an utter abhorrence of all domination over conscience ; and therefore associated with that denomination of Christians which he thought was most tenacious of its rights against every usurpation of man, to which indeed he was a very singular ornament ; and to which he would have unalterably adhered in the most iniquitous times and at all events. In his life and manners appeared a degree of purity, most exemplary, at the greatest distance from every stain of criminal indulgence ; thus doing honour to the dignity of his nature, above all to the majesty of that presence which is universal, under an immediate sense of which he ever acted." There is a note attached to the passage just quoted, which is the only part omitted in the "Monthly Review." "Of the importance of the Protestant dissenting interest, even in a political view, he always expressed the fullest persuasion. As a lover of freedom and of legal government he was warmly concerned for its support. He thought the true ground of such dissent (arising from a stedfast, uniform assertion of that liberty wherewith God and nature have made us free), to be the

most impregnable barrier against every encroachment, of whatever tyranny. These matters he considered with the compass of an able master in politics, of one who takes in all the natural operations and remote tendencies of things. His soul, indeed, was too great to lay much stress on many of the *minutiæ* of altercation; idle niceties, in comparison, which angry zealots on all sides have been so apt to draw out through endless mazes of controversy." On this note and the passage to which it is attached, I would observe that, considering all the parties, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Cornwall, Dr. Duchal, and Mr. Stewart, it is a proof that Presbyterianism, according to the Church of Scotland and the Westminster Confession, was not prevalent in Dublin among leading members of some places of worship there, and that, as I know was the case in some of the southern congregations, they preferred the title of Protestant dissenters to that of Presbyterians. Religious freedom was the bond of union, and considering that this was published in 1755, on the death of one above fifty years of age, it is not too much to infer that such sentiments had been prevalent in Dublin for some time, and that we have better means of judging of the current of opinion when the general fund was established, than from the conduct of some in 1702, when Emlyn was persecuted. It has been said that many concerned in that transaction bitterly regretted the part they had taken; certainly many controversies arose about that time, which tended to change men's opinions, and if Unitarianism did not immediately prevail, there became such a tendency to it, as would have prevented the holders of such opinions from being allowed to receive the communion in any true Scotch Presbyterian church. Religious liberty, the protection of it, and of the sacred rights of conscience, was the guiding principle which actuated the dissenters of that day, and to give their endowments to the devoted adherents of the Westminster Confession, seems so inconsistent with equity, that it is difficult to imagine how men of integrity can justify it. With regard to William Bruce's freedom of opinion, another proof remains. His brother, Michael Bruce, of Holywood, died in 1735, leaving him an executor, and the guardian of his young family. He acted as a father to this family. The two elder sons were sent to Glasgow, where they had the superintendence of their relative, Professor Hutcheson. One of them, Samuel, was designed for the ministry, and there has been preserved a letter written to him at that place by his uncle, dated Dublin, February 16, 1744 $\frac{4}{5}$ . In this letter occurs the following passage, in which, though no peculiar doctrines are expressed,

there is much that is at variance with what are called orthodox opinions.

“ I am much pleased to find that you are applying yourself so properly to the study of divinity ; I look on Locke’s Commentary as a very useful book, and indeed one of the best of that great man’s productions ; you are not to expect satisfaction on all points from any commentary on the New Testament, especially on the epistles, which, from their nature, must at this distance be liable in many instances to such obscurity as cannot be cleared up ; nor can this be wanting for a man’s own quiet and peace of mind, the main articles in Christianity depending as little on criticism as the principles of natural religion, though as a scholar, and particularly as a Divine, it is highly becoming to be acquainted with the most remarkable opinions which have derived their origin from the different constructions which have been put on passages in these writings, and the several criticisms brought in support of these different constructions ; at the same time it would have been much happier for the world, and reasonable religion would have fared much the better for it, if less stress had been laid on these miscellaneous and casual writings. How men came so universally to annex the ideas of inspiration to all that is now contained in the New Testament it is not easy to guess, but surely the authors never gave them any reason for it ; on the contrary, both their manner of writing, and the sense they themselves express concerning their inducements of writing, and the authority they claim as writers, are calculated to have kept the world from running into such vain imaginations about them ; the truth is, that it is impossible in the nature of the thing, a revelation intended for the general use of mankind should be left to depend on criticism, and therefore, were they ever so much inspired, it must be just the same thing to us and to all who had no other way of coming at the knowledge of their sentiments but by their writings, as if they were supposed plain honest men, informing the world concerning the life and actions and doctrine of their master in the best manner their abilities permitted : complex ideas made up of arbitrary associations cannot long be conveyed from one mind to another without suffering some alteration even in the same language, and it is evident this must be still less practicable when they are to be expressed in different languages. Ideas, on the other hand, which contain nothing but what is interesting and con-natural to the human mind, want only to be once introduced, and can never afterwards stand in need of the knowledge of words in order to their being distinctly retained, and such, if I mistake not, are all the ideas which the author of nature intended to introduce into the mind of man as important to his duty and happiness by the ministration of our Saviour.”

The Samuel Bruce to whom the preceding was written, became Dr. Duchal’s colleague at Wood-street, in 1747, and his son William, the late Dr. Bruce, (probably called after his uncle,) was born in 1757.



I have dwelt on this topic, perhaps, too long, and I must curtail further quotations, reminding the reader that the *Monthly Review* in its early period is accessible in many libraries.

“Early in life, and during the course of a liberal education, he had cultivated an acquaintance with the best writers, ancient and modern, on the most interesting subjects; and it is well remembered what an excellent turn of spirit, what taste for real learning, and what strength of genius he discovered, when but a youth at the university.” “In particular, he considered Christianity not as a matter of curious disquisition, but as a discipline of the heart, a republication of the great original law of nature concerning moral good and evil, and the supreme happiness and ultimate destination of man—strongly reinforcing and by more explicit sanctions the natural anticipations and sentiments of the human heart relating to God’s righteous government, and to the rewards and punishments of a future state; and all this promulgated in a manner most worthy of the benign parent of mankind, and best adapted to their wants and infirmities; namely, by a divine messenger, sent in the name of God, and by his immediate authority sufficiently attested and made known to the world. This view of revelation our friend was persuaded brought it most effectually home to men’s bosoms and to practice, which must be its great end. In this light, he invariably beheld it; in this he thought its evidence clear and satisfactory. To say all on this head, he had a spirit, manly, stedfast, intrepid, in asserting the cause of God, of virtue, of liberty, indeed in pursuing every good work.”

After dwelling on his conformity in practice, his attachment to friends, his generosity, and like virtues, we find—

“But not his intimate friends alone, not only his familiar acquaintances, but in truth, all men, even the lowest, became the objects of his attention and regard. The question of an unfeeling heart ‘and who is my neighbour?’ he never put, satisfied that to a good man nothing is foreign which concerns humanity. He was the servant of all, and to that best of characters, ‘*in commune bonus*,’ no person had a more undoubted claim. But so it must have been, and multitudes are ready to attest the truth of what is asserted; for his great and uncommon endowments of mind were animated to an unwearied activity by a heart, the seat of every benevolent affection—a heart warm in every friendly office—fervent to prevent, to alleviate distress, to diffuse happiness; to nothing cool but to his own ease, his convenience, his interests. After the most perfect exemplar, he went about doing good. His life a continual course of vigorous action, exerted to serve the noblest purposes; some, and those but short, intervals excepted, when acute pain and languor of body confined him. These arising from something inexplicable in his constitution, he had been subjected to, from his youth up; and the disorder, probably aggravated by the energy of his mind and a tone of affection too high not to impair the springs of animal life.”

There are still other striking traits of character—but it is time to stop. Such was a man of the earlier part of the last century—a man such as is not often met with, and whose character cannot be contemplated without a wish that such were more frequent. My soul dwells with pleasure on such a picture, and delights to think that it has held converse with those of kindred spirit, animated by the love of God and man—true disciples of the Saviour—men differing in creed, but one in Christ.

THOMAS DIX HINCKS.

Belfast.

#### ART. IV.—REPORT OF THE INSPECTORS OF PRISONS, (Part 7,) AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

FORTUNATELY for mankind, in the year 1773, a gentleman was appointed Sheriff of Bedfordshire, who conceived that his duties were not confined to attendance upon, and a hospitable reception of the Judges, or to the entertainment of the Grand Jury. The gentleman of whom we speak, visited and examined the Prison of Bedford; he saw the wretched condition of the prisoners, his sympathies were awakened on behalf of the most forlorn of his kind, and he resolved to attempt to redress the wrongs and abuses which he then discovered and condemned; and from that day we date the commencement of the reform of our prison discipline. This great man was John Howard.

During that year and a part of the ensuing one, Mr. Howard visited numerous prisons, and he laid before Parliament the result of his arduous labours, which were then only beginning. From this time until the day of his glorious death at Cherson, he devoted himself incessantly to change the old system of treating criminals, and we are mainly indebted to the exertions of this illustrious person, for those improvements which have already been effected, and for much of that ardent enthusiasm which is now directed to the same object. Well would it be for us if all men charged with the office of Sheriff, or with any office, the duties of which gives them authority to inspect our Prisons, would imitate the example of the Sheriff of Bedford. Reform, however, proceeds slowly; and the progress of those reforms which involve only the interests of the wretched, is more tardy than any other. Few persons have the energetic humanity which leads them into cells and places of punishment; still fewer are there who have the courage to attempt to redress that wrong which they may chance to discover in their casual visits to the receptacles for the outcasts of society.

We have lately, however, thanks to Lord John Russell and the Whigs, obtained an assurance that the Gaols of England shall no longer be a scandal and a reproach to the Government, however much their condition may affect the reputation of the magistracy and the local authorities. The Prisons are now accurately and frequently inspected, and the reports of the Commissioners are printed and laid before Parliament. Thus far the Government does its duty; but to examine and report upon the state of Prisons is not to reform them. Another and a higher duty remains to be performed. If local authorities,

if great counties, will not carry out such measures as are essential to the well-being of the criminal population, and to the character of the country, they must be compelled to do that which is right. The Government has hitherto proceeded in a wise and a cautious manner. Local authorities have been instructed in the management of prisons and in the proper discipline of the criminal; the errors of existing establishments have been carefully examined and described, the necessary remedies have been suggested, and the inspectors of prisons have pointed out those alterations, without which punishment fails to produce any beneficial result. Acts have been passed giving the power to local authorities to build new prisons by means of money raised by a rate of so moderate an amount, as to distribute the costs attending the erection of new prisons over thirty years. With some honourable exceptions, we are, however, sorry to say, that these enabling powers have not been so extensively used as the state of our prisons requires; and we are still more sorry to say that there is a manifest reluctance in many districts to provide any effectual means for reforming the criminal. It is difficult to convince persons that the present system is both costly to the districts, and inefficacious as to the reform of the culprit. The object of punishment is not understood. It is not merely to punish that we incarcerate—it is likewise to reform, to instruct, and to restore erring creatures to society,—to restrain until we reform, and no longer,—to provide the means by which criminals shall not be hardened in vice, but by which they shall see the error and the folly of their ways, and return instructed to the society whose laws they have violated. All criminal restraint which does not attempt this, is useless and expensive, nay more, it is cruel and unjust. On this subject we are glad to say that the Government is in advance of the people, and unless the people adopt the right system, and fairly and honestly carry out, in the management and discipline of their gaols, the enlightened views entertained by the Government, *it will become the duty of the Government, as guardians of the national morals, to take the business into their own hands, and to enforce by statute such regulations as may be necessary to protect society from the wrong inflicted by the criminal, and at the same time to make adequate provision for the due punishment and reform of offenders.* We are not advocates for depriving the people of a real control over the expenditure of the money which they pay, nor are we insensible of the advantages of local government; but there are subjects of great importance to the nation, which it is the duty of the Government to en-



force, and unless the local jurisdictions are prepared fully to carry out the necessary measures for criminal reform, the Government ought to relieve all such bodies from their functions, and enforce those regulations which experience has shown to be requisite and necessary to effect the end which all desire to attain. The end and object of all punishment ought to be, not vengeance, but to inspire a wholesome terror to evil doers, and to reform. To prove that it may be the duty of Government to take the course to which we have adverted, we shall select a case from the Seventh Report of the Inspectors of Prisons now before us. We take this case because it is a striking instance of the negligence and wrong often found among bodies having small local jurisdiction,—the more striking is this case, because it does not occur among country squires or justices of the peace, who entertain ancient notions of the treatment of criminals, nor among wealthy burghers, who look to the clean floors, abundant diet, and the regular attendance of the chaplain of their Borough Prisons, and rest satisfied that they then do all which can be reasonably required of them, but because it occurs at Cambridge, and because it is not the Town but the *University* Prison.

In an University governed by some of the most enlightened among mankind, and in a Prison under the immediate control of their own officers, if anywhere, we ought to seek for an example which might be advantageously followed by the rest of the community, and it is therefore that we have read with mingled feelings of astonishment, regret and indignation, the following account of the Spinning House at Cambridge. We fear this is but a sample of what may be found among the prisons of small local jurisdictions, and it affords ample evidence of the necessity of directing the attention of Government to some such measure as that to which we have already referred. The Charters granted to places in which systematic neglect, such as that we record, ought to be withdrawn, and the whole of these small jurisdictions should be at once placed under statutory regulations, or, what would be much better, the power of committal to any gaol should be prohibited, unless the Secretary of State shall previously have certified, that the prison itself is properly constructed, and until he shall also have given his sanction to the regulations by which it is proposed to manage and direct the unfortunate inmates of such places.

On the 29th day of October in the year 1835, the Spinning House was first visited by Captain Williams, one of the Inspectors of Prisons, a gentleman who appears to have discharged the very arduous duties assigned to him in a manner which

reflects the highest honour on himself, and on those by whom he was appointed. We invite the serious attention of our readers to the following cautious and guarded account of this place, which we copy from the first report of the Inspectors of Prisons, Northern District, p. 15.

*“ Spinning House, Cambridge.—House of Correction.*

“ This establishment, situate in St. Andrew’s Street, was founded by Thomas Hobson, in 1628, for the purpose, as expressed by him, in the endowment, ‘ of setting the poor people of the University, and Town of Cambridge, to work, and for a House of Correction, for correcting unruly and stubborn rogues, beggars, and other poor people which shall refuse work, and to provide wool and flax for their occupation.’

“ The Spinning House, as fronting the street, presents a modern brick elevation, pierced by a gate in the centre, on each side of which are the keepers’ apartments. The interior buildings form a parallelogram, of which the central area is divided into four compartments, or airing yards, intended for as many classes of prisoners.

“ No 1 Yard is of a triangular shape, 42 ft. by 24; the apartments allotted to it, on the ground floor, are a day room, 12 ft. by 12, and 10 ft. high : five sleeping cells, each 6 ft. by 9, and 8 ft. 6 in height. On the second floor are a set of rooms of the same size and number.

“ No. 2 Yard.—Ground floor, day room, 13 ft. by 8 ft., 10 ft. high ; two sleeping cells, 6 ft. by 9 ft., 8 ft. 10 inches high ; second floor, three sleeping cells, 6 ft. by 9 ft., but no day room.

“ No. 3 Yard.—Ground floor, day room, 13 ft. by 8 ft., 10 ft. high ; three sleeping cells, 6 ft. by 9 ft., 8 ft. 10 inches high ; second floor, three sleeping cells, 6 ft. by 9 ft., but no day room.

“ No. 4.—Precisely, as to number, apartments, and size, as No. 1. In all, six day rooms, thirty-one sleeping cells.

“ The infirmary is detached, and consists of two rooms, 14 ft. square, 10 ft. high, and a yard, 36 ft. by 24.

“ The cells have no fire-places, but are light, and look into the yards ; the floors are of oak, the doors of deal, and the roofs of the cells are planked with wood of the same description.

“ There are no privies in the upper stories, and those in the lower story are most improperly placed at the extremity of the passages which lead to the cells ; there is an utter want of ventilation, and the effluvia is most offensive and nauseous.

“ The premises are not detached, and are by no means secure from accidents by fire.

“ *The chapel is on the second story, neatly fitted up, but without divisions, and is not made use of.*

“ The property is vested in trustees, who pay for the repairs of the building, and the keepers’ salary.

“ The University and the Town of Cambridge being both named in the endowment as participators in Hobson’s Benefaction, the trustees have appropriated it between them ; retaining to themselves the ap-

pointment of the keeper, and paying his salary and the repairs of the buildings. In the year 1822, the sum of £1,660 was laid out in alterations. The proceeds of the property now remaining for its maintenance, are about £280 a-year.

“ The University make use of their allotted portion of the Spinning House, for the inclusion of prostitutes, who are apprehended by the Proctors; they are taken there generally at night. The Vice-Chancellor attends in the morning, and the prisoners are brought before him. A proctor is present, *and the information is taken without the formality of an oath*, and the offenders dealt with by sentences of imprisonment for periods not exceeding two months, or discharged upon admonition. The warrant for their detention to the keeper is in the annexed form.

“ *To the Keeper of the Spinning House, or House of Correction, in the town of Cambridge.*

“ WHEREAS ——— hath been apprehended by ———, one of the Proctors of the said University, within the limits and jurisdiction thereof, and has this day been brought before me, and charged with being an idle and disorderly person, suspected of incontinence, and a common street walker; which charge, as well upon the information of the said Proctor, as upon the examination of the said culprit, and after having heard what the said culprit had to allege in her defence, I do adjudge to be true.

“ These are therefore to require and command you to receive into your custody the said culprit, and her safely to keep in your said Spinning House for ———

“ Given under my hand and seal, at Cambridge, this ——— day of ———, in the Year of our Lord 183

“ ——— D.D. of ——— College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

“ These unfortunate females are only sent to the Spinning House during term time.

“ *Diet.*—The University allow sixpence, and a pint of beer, daily, to each, and coals and candles as required.

“ Observations: The prisoners are permitted to have what provisions they please, and generally four of them put their sixpences together, and the articles desired by them are furnished by the keeper, who admits that he makes a profit thereon: his emoluments thus obtained amount, according to his own estimation, to five or six pounds per annum. The prisoners likewise have permission to receive articles of food from their friends.

“ *Bedding.*—Flock mattress, two blankets, and cotton coverlid.

“ Observation:—The prisoners generally sleep in pairs.

“ *Labour.*—None.

“ *Punishments.*—Observations: Refractory and unmanageable prisoners are sent to the County Gaol, upon representation by the keeper to the Vice-Chancellor; there are two cells termed Solitary, but the keeper declares that he is afraid to confine them for a longer period than eight or ten hours, lest they should commit suicide; two having attempted to strangle themselves.

*“Moral and Religious Instruction.—The University has made no provision for any instruction. Some benevolent ladies have occasionally visited the prison, and a clergyman, a member of King’s College, some time back attended voluntarily on a Sunday, but discontinued it for private reasons; since which, no Divine Service has been performed.*

“The Surgeon, in his evidence, says, ‘the whole place is badly managed; common fevers are prevalent among the most dissipated of its inmates; the whole prison is ill ventilated, and ill adapted for its purpose; the effluvia from the water-closets adjoining the cells is most offensive; he considers it injurious to health, and still more so to those seeking the recovery of it.

“There is no sort of discipline maintained; several escapes have taken place. The prisoners are not searched, nor deprived of money, nor any other article.

“They occasionally climb over the walls of one airing yard into another; they pass their time huddled round the fires, in obscene talk, or occasionally in singing and dancing. The keeper gives it as his opinion, ‘that any girl not very bad, would be far worse on going out than when she came in. He has observed shades of difference, as to feeling their situations, among some of the females upon first coming in, but this has worn off by association.’

“The confinement has no other effect but that of keeping them out of the streets in term time. The females now come in at a much younger age than formerly; they have generally been servant girls in lodging-houses in the town.

“The inutility of this establishment cannot be better exemplified than in the following Return, where it will be found, that the number of unfortunate females committed from November 4th, 1834, to the day of inspection, 29th of October 1835, was 66; the number of committals 176; averaging nearly three commitments of each individual, and the gross amount of imprisonment which they underwent was 2,634 days, averaging 39 days for each.

“General Observations:—These will apply simply to this place as a house of inclusion for prostitutes. Its utter deficiency in every requisite will be observed, in the above details, to be so glaring as to require but little, if any, further remark. I am quite convinced that the effect of this imprisonment upon these unfortunates, destroys any spark of good feeling they may have lingering in their breasts. These females appear to be all in the same degree of degradation—the lowest—from association, all alike. It is a grievous inconsistency, if not an offence against morals, to place offenders in a situation where, instead of being corrected and reformed, their ‘last state must become worse than their first.’”

Our readers will remember the date of the foregoing, October 1835. In a subsequent report, dated 1st March 1838, the same Inspector says:—

“This house of correction for prostitutes apprehended by the proctor and imprisoned there by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of



Cambridge, remains in the same discreditable state as it did at the last period of my inspection on the 29th of October 1835. *As at the former period, so at the present, the 22nd January 1838, the University have wholly neglected to provide, not only for the moral and religious instruction of the prisoners, but even for the ordinary celebration of Divine worship within the walls*; a like want of cleanliness and similar scenes of tumult and disorder prevail now as then. On one occasion lately, the keeper states that he was obliged to make use of personal violence to free himself from a female who assaulted him. He was alone when attacked, and was obliged to strike her violently to beat her off. There were but four female prisoners on the morning of my visit, I found them sitting together at breakfast, over their fire; the day-room dirty—various sorts of provisions and other articles lying about; the sleeping cells (two sleeping in each) with beds unmade and in disorder: the infirmary untouched since its last occupancy, altogether presenting a picture which, happily, is now but seldom witnessed in such establishments. The keeper, as before, is still without any directions or rules for him to go by. He is absent a great portion of the day, engaged in his business as a watch-maker in another part of the town. The number of females imprisoned in 1834 was 47, committals 96 times during the year; the number in 1837 was 54, committals 174.”

On the 19th of March 1842, this disgraceful place was again visited by the same Inspector: he states,

“I regret to report that my expectations of improvement in this establishment have been almost wholly disappointed, and that I found it on the 19th of March 1842, in nearly the same discreditable condition as at my first visit in 1835. Upon entering the prison for the purpose of inspection, at a quarter past nine in the morning, I found the prisoners not out of their bed cells, and the rooms in disorder. One prisoner infected with disease was sleeping with another free from disease. Four females were under detention at the time of my visit. I subjoin the particulars of their commitments, as extracted from the register, and how distributed at the time of my visit.

“E. A., age 19. This woman has been apprehended six times by the proctors, and dealt with in the following manner:—

1. Reprimanded and discharged.
2. Admonished and discharged.
3. Three weeks' imprisonment, Spinning House.
4. Ten days' ditto ditto.
5. Ten days' solitary confinement, ditto.
6. Not kept, on promise not to be found in the streets.

“L. P., age 17. Charged with street-walking. Living with vagrants in Barnewall. This girl has been twice in the Spinning House. On the first occasion she was adjudged to a fortnight's solitary confinement, and on the 10th of February was committed for imprisonment till the end of the term.

“P. A., age 17. Living with her aunt in Smith-street. Been twice apprehended by the proctors.

1. 14th December. Found in Trinity College at a quarter before 11. Told an incredible number of falsehoods. Sent home the same night.

2. 10th March. Street-walking. Committed to the Spinning House for 14 days, seven to be in solitude.

"S. C. Not committed, but delivered herself up to the proctors in order to get cured of disease.

"C. F., age 16. Sleeping in the same bed with S. C. Apprehended twice.

1. For walking with a girl of bad character. Admonished, and discharged the same night.

2. Street-walking. Committed for three weeks.

"M. D., age 19. Apprehended four times. Charged with walking and talking to an under graduate. Twice discharged, the third time confined for three weeks, the fourth one week solitary confinement.

"The keeper states,—

"The number of prisoners entirely depends upon the proctors; during the last year we had as many as 16 at one time. The proctors go through the prison perhaps about two or three times a-year, the Vice-Chancellor never. I furnish the prisoners with food; they are supplied with bread, butter, cheese and potatoes. I generally buy a quantity of potatoes, and sell them to the prisoners at the price asked at the door. I do not sell tea, I have no license. I now refuse tobacco, except to those to whom it is habitual. The sentencing prisoners to solitary confinement is new with us; the prisoner when so sentenced is placed in a ward by herself with fire, and has the same food as the others. Clean body linen is provided, but no other clothing. Divine service is performed voluntarily by one of the proctors on the Sabbath, at 3 o'clock; he also reads a chapter in the Bible, and expounds it.

"Upon the ensuing Sabbath I attended at the hour which the keeper had previously acquainted me was fixed for the performance of Divine service, and after waiting a very considerable time, and no minister appearing, the keeper stated it would not take place."

These facts, promulgated by an authority responsible to parliament, we presume no man will venture to dispute. The first published statement of this shocking case appeared in 1836—again in 1838 the same Inspector noticed and published the same account of negligence and wrong, yet nothing was done; and now, in the year 1842, the same odious abuse continues in all its horrid depravity, a lamentable example of the difficulty of compelling reforms by the mere force of public opinion, and a further and cogent reason for some such remedial measure as that which we have already mentioned. Who is the Visitor of the University of Cambridge? The public have a right to ask this question. Who is the Vice-Chancellor? Who are the men of our wealthy Church who are answerable for this state of things? No discipline of body or mind, no culture, no religious

consolation, not even the *form* of public worship among wretched creatures, the degraded victims of the vices of the youths of the University, over which the grave Doctors of the Church preside. More than six years ago this subject was brought before the Public, and yet no reform. We confess we cannot venture to proceed to express our feelings on this painful affair; we feel shame and sorrow for such a wanton abandonment of the common dictates of decency and humanity; we feel how fearfully the religious destitution of the girls in the Spinning House contrasts with the ceremonious display of religion, and of professed zeal for the welfare of the souls of the people; we feel that our own people as well as foreign nations will imagine that if such things exist in England, and, moreover, in an English University, there is not much reliance to be placed in the sincerity of the professions of our love for religion, virtue and decorum. It is indeed time that this nuisance should be abated—the mode is obvious and easy, and we trust the Home Secretary will speedily bring the matter before the legislature. He may adopt here a measure similar to that which was adopted in the abolition of the small criminal jurisdictions in Ireland. We believe that Lord John Russell, before he left the Home Office, was about to bring in a bill to abolish all the small criminal jurisdictions. The Spinning House at Cambridge is not a single case; it does not by any means stand alone. There are Prisons in many of the smaller jurisdictions worse than the Spinning House, and we may on a future occasion mention them. In the mean while, we cannot do better than extract an opinion as to the small jurisdictions from evidence given before the House of Lords in the year 1819, we believe, by one of the Gurneys, a family who have been deservedly distinguished as among the most humane and active friends of suffering humanity which the world has known, and one member of which has earned for herself imperishable fame, a woman whose industry and invincible courage has enabled her to effect more, and to raise hopeful expectations of greater improvements in the treatment of the criminal population, than any other person now living; need we mention Mrs. Fry? In the evidence is the following description of the Prisons of the small jurisdictions in Ireland:—

“In a miserable building prisoners are confined for days and weeks without yards for exercise, without inspection, care of health or morals. Men and women are thrown together in old cells without bedding, and with damp clay floors. No chaplain attends, no surgeon or physician is appointed. No regular supply of food is provided. All is fraud, oppression, and misery.”

Such was the state of small prisons in Ireland, such is the state of many small prisons in England, save as it regards the supply of food. We have been in gaols in England, in which no English gentleman would suffer his hounds to find even a temporary kennel. Whatever the Government or the legislature may do, one duty clearly belongs to persons who, like ourselves, profess to take a deep interest in all which relates to the happiness of mankind, more particularly to that portion of the people who, from want, from lack of education, or from any other cause, form our criminal population,—and that duty is constantly to urge on all suitable occasions the necessity for a thorough revision of our criminal code, and for a more philosophical treatment of our criminal population. It is only by constant and unwearying exertion that any good can be really effected; we hope to discharge our portion of this important trust; we have faith in mankind, and we hold that it is our duty to reform as well as to restrain the criminal. We are mindful of the dying declaration of Blackstone, the Author of the Commentaries, to Howard;—"Be firm in your opinion; criminals are to be reformed."

E. R.



## ART. V.—DR. CHANNING.

- 1 *An Address delivered at the Funeral of Rev. W. E. Channing, D.D., Oct. 7, 1842.* By Ezra S. Gannett.
- 2 *A Sermon delivered in the Federal-street Meeting-house, in Boston, Oct. 9, 1842, the Sunday after the death of Rev. W. E. Channing, D.D.* By Ezra S. Gannett.
- 3 *A Discourse, occasioned by the death of Dr. Channing, pronounced before the Unitarian Societies of New York and Brooklyn, Oct. 13, 1842.* By Henry W. Bellows.
- 4 *An Humble Tribute to the Memory of Dr. Channing. A Sermon preached at West Roxbury, Oct. 9, 1842.* By Theodore Parker.
- 5 *The influence of a great mind when imbued with the Spirit of the Christian Religion. A Sermon preached in Charlestown, on occasion of the death of Dr. Channing.* By George E. Ellis.
- 6 *A Discourse, on occasion of the death of Dr. Channing, delivered in Essex-street Chapel, Nov. 6, 1842.* By Thomas Madge.
- 7 *A Sermon, preached at Little Carter-lane Chapel, London, Nov. 6, 1842, on occasion of the death of Dr. Channing.* By Joseph Hutton, LL.D.
- 8 *The Voice of the Dead. A Sermon on the death of Dr. Channing.* By J. G. Robberds.
- 9 *An Attempt to Delineate the Character of Dr. Channing, as a Writer, Philanthropist, and Divine, in a Sermon preached at Hackney, Nov. 13, 1842.* By Robert Aspland.
- 10 *Discourse on the death of Dr. Channing. By the Rev. G. Armstrong, B.A. Preached at Bristol, Nov. 6, 1842.*
- 11 *Discourse on the death of Dr. Channing, preached at Bridport, Nov. 27, 1842.* By Robert E. B. Maclellan.
- 12 *A Tribute to the Memory of Dr. Channing, delivered in the Chapel, Little Portland-street, London, Nov. 20, 1842.* By Edward Tagart, F.S.A.
- 13 *A Discourse on the death of Dr. Channing, delivered at Cheltenham, Nov. 13.* By L. Lewis.
- 14 *Sermon on the death of Dr. Channing.* By the Rev. Edmund Kell, Newport, Isle of Wight.

SINCE the publication of our last Number, the intelligence of the death of Dr. Channing has communicated to the circle of our readers that description of emotion which Israel may have known, when one of her Prophets perished. The feeling with which he was regarded in this country, especially by those who found an ever new light and life in his religious views, makes it an obligation to attempt, however imperfectly, some notices of the character of his mind, and of the peculiar influence he exerted upon us. Perhaps no one living man ever stood in the same spiritual relation to so many minds. It is not merely a vague feeling of loss to his country or to the world that his death has produced,—there is an individual sense that a light to which we looked for illumination and guidance has been removed from us—that a personal Instructor, in the highest sense of that high word, is no longer with us. How many teachers of religion might be taken from their people, and no such sense of personal and spiritual deprivation be experienced, as by the death of that far distant man, on whose face they have never looked! This is the highest kind of power, of beneficent action on human minds, and as bodily presence was not necessary to it, so neither can death obstruct it. We have still with us all of his spirit that we ever had. Nor was it his genius alone, great as that was, which formed for him this intimate relation with us, and made him as a personal guide and light to so many minds. It was chiefly the sincerity of his Christian sentiment, the reality with which the great principles of Christianity had taken possession of his own heart and faith, the singleness and simplicity of his spiritual thought. It was the living source from which he drew his light, more than the power in which he uttered it, that made so many consign themselves to his voice, as to an Apostle, and immediate Minister of God. We believe the sentiment with which he was regarded was quite peculiar,—that he was one to whom men came not so much for information, nor even instruction, as for spiritual illumination;—one, through whose mind they felt that they had a nearer access to God than their own afforded,—through whose realized communion of the divine and human spirit, moral and religious truths seemed to be stripped of all intellectual uncertainty, and to become *intuitions* of the soul. The Doctrines of Jesus were the lights in which he regarded the relations of every human being to society and to God, and consequently his judgments on moral subjects were uttered with a simplicity, a commanding clearness, and fullness of conviction, that make them sound like inspirations. A man so regarded by many minds amongst us, and we think rightly so regarded, ought not to die, and no word be spoken. It is a duty

to express our obligations to the benefactors of our minds, to those who have enabled us to comprehend more truly the ruling spirit of the Gospel, and to enter more fully into divine relations with God and man. And it is our duty, when these high aids are removed, and we feel left to our own feebleness, to pledge ourselves anew, whilst their voice and their spirit still seem breathing near us, to the holy interests, the everlasting principles, in the pure love of which *their* best strength lay,—and by ascending, for ourselves, to the Fountain of Grace, to the Father of Lights, to seek a still closer connection with all those, who, through their faith and obedience, have, in any peculiar sense, made themselves His children.

Yet we confess we should avoid this attestation, through conscious inability to render it worthily, did not the duty force itself upon us. We shrink from the attempt to define the spirit and action of great minds. We would, with profound joy, submit ourselves to their influence, and be strengthened by their power, and even feel conscious that their highest sentiments had independent roots in our own nature,—but to leave this position with the view of compassing and describing such minds is to assume something of a false attitude towards them, and instantly to change the sense of strength and joy derived from them, into trembling and pain. Nor is the sentiment of recent death, the enhanced reverence with which we think and speak of that virtue and form of spirit, on which God has just set his everlasting seal, favourable to the free and discriminating exercise of thought. There is danger that feebleness may end in exaggeration,—and that, through the fear of doing injustice, the mind may attempt to raise itself to its subject by an unnatural and fluttering effort, and, parted from its own simplicity, become disqualified for all true and useful action. It is therefore chiefly as an acknowledgment of light and help derived from his writings; as an expression of sympathy with his trust in God and man; of admiration for the noble courage with which he witnessed to great truths, on the scenes of their violation, and in presence of the wrong doer,—to bring before our own hearts, our responsibility to cherish, with a new fidelity, the divine principles of the Gospel, to devote ourselves with a new energy to the service of our fellow beings, to the moral Freedom and spiritual Emancipation of mankind, that we would now attempt any delineation of the peculiar action of his mind, of his efforts in behalf of Truth, Righteousness, and Mercy, of his influence for good in this country and his own. In relation to one who exerted a greater moral power on the world than any living man, this cannot be an unbecoming or an unprofitable labour.

We would venture to say a few words on the distinguishing character of his mind, and this we think lay in what, perhaps, cannot be described in any other way than by calling it "*spiritual discernment*." It was not by slow inductions that he reached his perception of moral Truths, nor by an elaborate chain of mediate proofs that he communicated them to others. He spoke as a Prophet,—as from immediate vision,—as one who had come from the oracle of his spirit, where he had listened to the everlasting Voice. All true Light he regarded as proceeding from the higher sentiments of the soul, receiving and manifesting God's spirit. To keep his own nature pure, reverential, loving, unstained by the passions, unsullied by appetite and sense, so that God might find it ready for His impulses, and be able to breathe his Holy Spirit through it,—this he regarded as the highest and surest preparation for the reception of Spiritual Truth; and the sense, proceeding to him from such states, of the goodness of God; of the destination and true happiness of man; of an all embracing love as the only principle of a beneficent connection with one another or with the universe; of the blessedness of obeying conscience; of the sure triumph and eternal vindication of Righteousness and Mercy,—was not, to him, a mere human or fallible impression, but the solemn affirmation of Almighty God. Religion, and the practical spirit of Christianity, were not to him the products of mere reasoning, but a light struck out by the direct action of God on all the purer states of the human soul. The sentiments of a mind that had striven to purge itself from selfishness and passion, to obey the Laws, and rise to the dignity of its Nature, were to him the ultimate appeal on all subjects of moral and religious truth; divine seeds planted by God in man, to be ripened by unwavering fidelity into the powers and fruits of a heavenly life. "Faith," to use his own words, he regarded, "not as an intellectual exercise, an assent to propositions, but as a spiritual aspiration, a thirst for perfection, a trust in Christianity as commissioned by God to guide us to perfection, to inward, moral, celestial, and eternal life." Now it is this character of mind that displays genius of the highest order, and from which his wonderful power of attraction was derived. He never discusses a question on debatable ground, but at once pours on it a flood of light, by an exposition of the everlasting principles with which it must be brought into harmony. Argument, in the common sense of that word, was not his instrument, nor logical power his characteristic, nor in his writings is there to be found much of consecutive thought,—perhaps not a single subject systematically treated, and according to the laws of a philosophical arrangement. It was not that he



was deficient in such powers, for his mind was eminently clear, but they were not his highest instruments; he had diviner, brighter, fuller evidences; he rose more freely into the light of those spiritual faculties, sentiments, and aspirations, in whose precepts and revealings there is felt to be no uncertainty. His writings, beyond all others in the language, are marked by a moral inspiration,—he fans the soul of his reader, and elevates it to pure vision, sentiment, and insight. When you close his pages, you may not feel that all the materials of a subject have been placed within your reach, or that you have been made capable of systematically developing it for yourself;—but you will feel that *your spiritual nature has been brought into right relations* towards it, that the great principles, the holy and merciful sentiments which ought to determine it, have received from him a new glow of life. His power lies in making you *feel* rightly towards God and man; and few are the questions, in Theology or Social Morality, that require any thing more for their settlement than the heart being brought into this right spiritual frame.

His style partakes of this character of his mind. He presents you with a series of moral intuitions, which are found to exhaust the essence of the subject. Yet the single features are rather taken up numerically, than in any organic connection. There is no necessary sequence in the order of his topics. His mind emits Light rather than developed thought, and flashes out its intense revelations, often in the fewest possible words,—though his unexhausted interest in a great subject frequently leads him to repeat himself, but never without renewing in his reader the glow of kindred sentiment. He never repeats but to rekindle. His style is a true image of his mind; the spiritual outshines the philosophical faculty; but still the philosophic element is never absent. You are never in any doubt as to the soundness of his views,—however intense may be the light of his sentiments, you always feel that the truths, which are the basis of this interest, are as living Rock.

This inspired utterance of spiritual intuitions, though it transcends argument, communicates itself to other minds only through sympathy, and, consequently, great as his power was of fanning the soul up to his own light and heat, he often failed of producing effect, and was thought obscure by unprepared readers. This was especially felt to be the case in his expressions of religious sentiment, of the connections of the soul with God,—that is, on those topics which depend, almost exclusively, on experiences of the individual mind, and where the sympathies are not habitually attracted, and awakened to loftier impulses, by the social and human interests involved. We believe that

even on the purely religious relations of the mind there is no mysticism in his writings,—that he speaks from the calmness of knowledge,—and that those who recur to his pages may regard their fuller comprehension of his meaning as no mean sign of their own spiritual progress. We ascribe it to the same cause that his later writings have been generally considered more free, simple, earnest, and perspicuous. This impression is owing to the change which has taken place in the *subjects* of his writings, and not to any change in the character of his thought, or in the manner of his treatment. It is only of late years that he has written so largely on questions of social and philanthropic interest; and the very highest sentiments that relate to these are more level to the ordinary mind, are more excited into life by daily sympathy, than those that concern the more individual and spiritual relations of the soul. There was a time when the whole sympathies of his being seemed to be exclusively given to the connections of our nature with God, to the spiritual worth and significance of the individual soul; and it was from this full comprehension of the relations of the human spirit to a Heavenly Father, that his Religion more and more assumed the form of an intense and self-sacrificing interest in humanity, of an earnest sympathy with the wrongs, sufferings, and wants of man, and of a consecration of his powers to the improvement, elevation, and true happiness of his fellow-creatures. These were the subjects that engaged almost entirely his later thoughts; and it was the fulness with which he had first realized within his own being, the parental character of God, that brought him into such tender and spiritual relations with all the family of man. Religion finally assumed the form, for him, of an all-sacrificing devotion to the spiritual interests of humanity, and though he treated these subjects from the same elevation of sentiment, he was thought to be adopting a more simple and natural style, only because he was touching more familiar chords in the human heart. We state this, because we think that, from forgetfulness of it, his earlier writings have sometimes been unjustly characterized, and a charge of ambitiousness and comparative obscurity fastened upon them, in contrast with his later ones,—whilst we rejoice that this philanthropic interest, this zeal for the elevation of his brethren, for the redemption and salvation of humanity from all bondage of flesh or spirit, was the final form in which the religious and Christian principle wrought so intensely in him. And in this he saw, more and more, that he was only identifying himself with the spirit of Religion as it existed in Christ. We find this sentiment expressed in his latest publication, in words that we linger over as

his last, delivered just two months before his death, to an audience in a remote village, where he was almost a stranger, gathered around him by his own interest in an Anniversary which to him was the noblest in History, that of the Emancipation of the Slaves in the British West India Islands.

“ All the doctrines of Christianity are more and more seen to be bonds of close, spiritual, reverential union between man and man, and this is the most cheering view of our time. Christianity is a revelation of the infinite, universal, parental love of God towards his human family, comprehending the most sinful, descending to the most fallen, and its aim is to breathe the same love into its disciples. It shows us Christ tasting death, for every man, and it summons us to take his cross, or to participate of his sufferings in the same cause. Its doctrine of Immortality gives infinite worth to every human being; for every one is destined to this endless life. The doctrine of the ‘ Word made flesh ’ shows us God uniting himself most intimately with our nature, manifesting himself in a human form, for the very end of making us partakers of his own perfection. The doctrine of Grace, as it is termed, reveals the Infinite Father imparting his Holy Spirit, the best gift he can impart, to the humblest being who implores it. Thus, love and reverence for human nature, a love for man stronger than death, is the very spirit of Christianity. Undoubtedly this spirit is faintly comprehended by the best of us. Some of its most striking expressions are still derided in Society. Society still rests on selfish principles. Men sympathize still with the prosperous and great, not the abject and down-trodden. But amidst this degradation, brighter glimpses of Christianity are caught than before. There are deeper, wider sympathies with mankind. The idea of raising up the mass of human beings to intellectual, moral, and spiritual dignity, is penetrating many minds. Among the signs of a brighter day, perhaps the West Indian Emancipation is the most conspicuous; for in this the rights of the most despised men have been revered.

“ There are some among us, at the present moment, who are waiting for the speedy coming of Christ. . . . Christ’s outward appearance is of little moment compared with the brighter manifestation of his spirit. The Christian whose inward eyes and ears are touched by God, discerns the coming of Christ, hears the sound of his chariot wheels and the voice of his trumpet, when no other perceives them. He discerns the Saviour’s advent in the dawning of higher truth on the world, in new aspirations of the Church after perfection, in the prostration of prejudice and error, in brighter expressions of Christian love, in more enlightened and intense consecration of the Christian to the cause of humanity, freedom, and religion. Christ comes in the conversion, the regeneration, the emancipation of the world.”

The action of his mind on all the highest interests of man was singularly varied and extensive. On no great moral question affecting his times has he been silent, and into every subject



that he touched he has carried the same intensity of spiritual insight. He has elevated and purified every question on which he has written, as though he had not conferred on it with flesh and blood, but brought it into the presence of God, and examined it with the eye and heart of Christ. The mere theologian, politician, reasoner, moralist, disappears, and we hear only the all-reconciling spirit and truth coming from one who, in Christian earnestness and simplicity, speaks of God as his Father, and of man as his Brother. Indeed his constant resort to these great principles has given some sameness to his method of treatment, but it enabled him to throw the Light of eternal Truth on moral questions, by which others had been dazzled or corrupted. He raised the Religion of the Body to which he belonged from a Creed of the Understanding to a worship and devotion of the soul, from a protest against absurd Doctrines to a deep and vital spiritual movement, from an assent of the reason to a healing, enriching, sanctifying, and saving Faith. Unitarianism, in its modern revival, did not originate in spiritual impulses,—it did not proceed from the heart and the aspirations, but from the intellect, and it was taught and uttered with something of the coldness of the faculties from which it was derived. Men, indeed, of large thought and of a sainted simplicity of life, valued it above the world, and were martyrs for its sake, but before Channing, it had never come in contact with a mind of great religious sensibility; of that high order of Genius to which the ideal of Christianity is as a living presence; and with the power of vividly communicating to others its own impressions and emotions. He changed its whole character. He stamped its distinctive form on the Unitarianism of America. All its productions breathe of his influence. As far as we can judge from the results, from the signs, there is not a Preacher of the same faith in that Land whom he has not unconsciously moulded. He has exerted the same influence, and wrought much of the same change, in England; and we trust that the spirit he carried into Christianity, to be enriched and exalted there, will work more and more amongst us.

But his was not a mind to be confined within a sect. Even at the time when he was most absorbed in the work of purifying, exalting, and defending his own Communion, the larger sympathies of his spirit manifested his Catholic nature,—when he revered the Roman Communion in the person of Fenelon; paid that sublime tribute to the magnanimity of Milton; and, in abhorrence of all oppression, struck down the false greatness of Napoleon. But it was with the moral condition of his own country that he chiefly felt concerned. There lay his responsi-



bility, and nobly did he absolve himself, before God and the world, of any participation in his Country's crimes. He thought that man a partaker of the guilt who did not raise his voice against the wrong,—and he thought him false to God who despaired of society, and yet did nothing to stay its evils. We know not that a private man ever assumed so noble an attitude towards a vast country, as in his work on the Annexation of Texas to the United States. Nor was this a vain breath, but a real and acknowledged power. "I am," he writes, "but one of a nation of fifteen millions, and, as such, may seem too insignificant to protest against a public measure. But in this country every man, even the obscurest, participates in the sovereignty, and is responsible for public acts, unless by some mode of opposition, proportioned to his sense of the evil, he absolves himself from the guilt. For one then, I say, that earnestly as I deprecate the separation of these States, and though this event would disappoint most cherished hopes for my country, still I can submit to it more readily than to the reception of Texas into the Confederacy. I shrink from that contamination. I shrink from an act which is to pledge us as a people to robbery and war, to the work of upholding and extending slavery, without limitation or end. I do not desire to share the responsibility, or to live under the laws of a government, adopting such a policy, and swayed by such a spirit, as would be expressed by the incorporation of Texas with our country."

It is necessary to have read his various works on Slavery in America to know how earnest, how faithful, how full of noble courage, of indignation against wrong, of brotherly and even passionate tenderness for its victim, has been his remonstrance with his country. He has entered the family above, and no shame will bow his head before the Father of All, at the remembrance of *brethren*, children of that God, enslaved, cast down from their spiritual equality, repudiated from brotherhood on Earth. He will take his place among that family, as one who never disowned the equal claim of a fellow being. It would seem impossible that any man who participates in that wrong could live in peace, with those works levelled at his conscience. They leave no cloak for sin. They are very numerous, for his spirit continued to be stirred within him by the continuance of the wrong, and the insensibility of the country. They did not cease, for the sin did not cease. He did not discharge his Conscience by one protest, but again and again his heart impelled him to speak for his brethren, and to warn the enslaver that he was "rivetting chains on his own soul, heavier and more ignominious than the slave's." Yet, into the details of its actual

existence—into complaints of cruelty—into abuse and vilification of the slave-holder, he never enters. It is with him a question of eternal justice. “God is just. Then all the defences which the oppressor rears against the consequences of wrong doing are vain. He may disarm the slave. Can he disarm that slave’s Creator? He can crush the spirit of insurrection in a fellow-being. Can he crush the awful spirit of justice and retribution in the Almighty? He can still the murmur of discontent. Can he silence that voice which speaks in thunder, and is to break the sleep of the grave? Can he always still the reproving, avenging voice in his own breast? It will be said, ‘You would make us poor.’ Be poor then, and thank God for honest poverty. Better be poor than unjust. Better beg than steal. Better live in an alms-house, better die, than trample on a fellow creature, and reduce him to a brute for selfish gratification. What, have we yet to learn that ‘it profits us nothing to gain the whole world, and lose our souls.’” These works ought to be read for the sake of learning with what force, tenderness, variety, exhaustion of argument and intreaty, yet justice and patience, a human spirit may oppose itself to wrong. In a private letter he writes—“My aim was to oppose slavery on principles which, if admitted, would inspire resistance to all the wrongs, and reverence for all the rights of human nature. I have no doubt as to the triumph of these principles; and my confidence is founded not on events, or outward progress, so much as the power with which they work on my own mind. In the response of my own soul to any great unchangeable truth, I hear the voice of universal humanity. I can conceive that my failings are individual, but not any great convictions of the intellect, or lofty inspirations of the heart. These do not belong to *me*. They are universal. They will live and spread when the individual who gave some faint utterance to them is gone.”

Space would fail us to recount his labours in the service of humanity—the various directions of his influence for the elevation of his Country, which he rebuked so openly, yet loved and trusted still. Yet Country was not all to him. He had, indeed, something of the partial feelings of patriotism, but above a patriot, he was eminently a man and a Christian. It was he who made the most effective and scornful exposure of a State Paper of his own Government, advancing the monstrous demand that England, within her own territory, should work the slave law of America. It was he who declared, not here, but there, that, by such a demand, America had degraded herself before the nations of the world. His country should number him among her purest benefactors. Not far below Washington should he

be placed who laboured not for Civil but for Moral Redemption, to make the Liberty of that mighty Nation a Reality and a Truth, and not a falsehood and a mockery before the face of Almighty God. She will raise a monument to his name, when she can do it with clean, self-justifying hands. Her repentance and her righteousness would be a monument, that would make his Heaven more blessed. To which of her interests was he inattentive or unfaithful? There was no movement he did not help. His strength was found out in the cause of Temperance; of Peace; of the Ministry to the Poor; of the Elevation of her Labouring Classes; of self-culture among her people; of the purity of her public men; of the strict union of Morality and Politics; of the means and importance of her National Literature,—as if for these alone he lived and thought. And she honoured him while living. She was proud of his genius and his fame. Will she let him die, and heap upon her head the retribution of his slighted messages from God?

We have little knowledge respecting the formation of his mind. Bodily debility made him acquainted with suffering and trial, and studious solitude was a necessity of his life. Yet he was no dreamer; he was intimately acquainted with human nature and the world, and those who have read his political writings, know with what reality he seizes on large conceptions of place, laws, condition, and relations of men. He had an intense sympathy with nature. He loved to commune with God through his works. It is on this subject that he drops almost the only hint that his works contain of the formation of his mind. In dedicating a church in Newport, Rhode Island, of which he was a native, he introduces the following passage in relation to himself: “Amid this glorious nature that love of liberty sprang up, which has gained strength within me to this hour. I early received impressions of the great and the beautiful, which I believe have had no small influence in determining my modes of thought and habits of life. In this town, I pursued for a time my studies of theology. I had no professor or teacher to guide me; but I had two noble places of study. One was yonder beautiful edifice, now so frequented and so useful as a public library, then so deserted that I spent day after day and sometimes week after week without interruption from a single visitor. The other place was yonder beach, the roar of which has so often mingled with the worship of this place, my daily resort, dear to me in the sunshine, still more attractive in the storm. Seldom do I visit it now without thinking of the work, which there, in the sight of that beauty, in the sound of those waves, was carried on in my soul. No spot on earth has helped

to form me so much as that beach. There I lifted up my voice in praise amidst the tempest. There, softened by beauty, I poured out my thanksgiving, and contrite confessions. There in reverential sympathy with the mighty power around me, I became conscious of power within. There struggling thoughts and emotions broke forth, as if moved to utterance by nature's eloquence of the winds and waves. Then began a happiness surpassing all worldly pleasures, all gifts of fortune, the happiness of communing with the works of God."

We have spoken of his latest Publication. The occasion was one made by himself. There was no intention of celebrating the anniversary of the Emancipation of British Slaves, but he felt that the example of this deed should never be suffered to sleep in America, and "finding that no other voice would be raised," he declares himself "impelled to lift up his own, though too feeble for any great exertion." This was worthy to be his last occasion, an occasion formed by himself: and these his last words to his Country, and to the world, might have remained unchanged, had he known that the spirit which spoke them was so soon to be taken within the sanctuary of the Righteousness and Love of God's blessed Home. "I began in hope, and in hope I end. I have turned aside to speak of the great stain on our country, which makes us the bye word and scorn of nations; but I do not despair. Mighty powers are at work in the world. Who can stay them? God's word has gone forth, and 'it cannot return to Him void.' A new comprehension of the Christian spirit, a new reverence for humanity, a new feeling of brotherhood and of all men's relations to the Common Father—this is among the signs of our times. We see it, do we not feel it? Before this all oppressions are to fall. Society silently pervaded by this, is to change its aspect of universal warfare for peace. The power of selfishness, all grasping and seemingly invincible, is to yield to this divine energy. The song of angels, 'On Earth Peace,' will not always sound a fiction. O come, thou kingdom of heaven, for which we daily pray! Come, Friend and Saviour of the race, who didst shed thy blood on the Cross, to reconcile man to man, and Earth to Heaven! Come, ye predicted ages of righteousness and love, for which the faithful have so long yearned! Come, Father Almighty, and crown with thine omnipotence the humble strivings of thy children to subvert oppression and wrong, to spread light and freedom, peace and joy, the truth and spirit of thy Son, through the whole earth."

The discourses, whose titles stand at the head of this article, are not fit subjects for criticism. We have collected them as



signs of the depth and extent of the impression which Dr. Channing has left of himself in the New and the Old World ; and whatever may be their differences in merit and truth of portraiture, they are all the products of one affectionate and reverential feeling. Such tributes offered to greatness and goodness by a loving veneration, have a value and a sacredness not dependent on their intrinsic worth. They are all hastily prepared, and necessarily mere sketches. Time must be given, before the character and the work of a great mind can be justly described. They abound however in faithful images of him, and in discriminating expression of his peculiar influence and work in the world. Wonderful is the harmony on these points. No man ever stood out so clear from rivalry or competition. With one consent the unbound Christianity of England and America sees in him their highest Mind. This was because personal greatness was not in his thoughts, nor in any way the spur of his work. It was the consequence of the singleness of his Christian purpose, of the devotion with which all his powers were directed to the practical acknowledgment in the world of Christian relations among men, and Christian views of the uses and aims of life. He was the greatest, because he was the most purely Christian. Hence the clearness of his thought, the transparency of his moral sentiment.

We have thought that it would be an acceptable service to our readers, and not without its value in after years, to preserve here as many of these descriptions as have in them the breath of life.

On every account Mr. Gannett's address at the funeral, and discourse on the subsequent Sunday, claim our first notice. He was addressing Dr. Channing's people, and his own relations with him were the most intimate. His services are properly marked by these circumstances, and stand out from all the others in the overflowing expression of love, tender and sacred sorrow, and the deep sense of loss and bereavement. The world has lost a light on which it gazed from afar, but to his own people the altar fire is quenched, and accordingly these addresses of the remaining Pastor to the afflicted Church, are as the domestic agony and throb to the general lamentation.

The following description of Dr. Channing as a Preacher almost places us in the presence of the speaker. How unspeakable the loss of a Church from which such a living power is withdrawn !

“ Although the infirmities of his physical system compelled him to decline other than occasional participation in duties of a public nature, and in a measure secluded him from society, Dr. Channing had acquired an

influence co-extensive with the civilized world. His celebrity as a preacher accompanied his name wherever it went, although he seldom appeared in any other than his own pulpit. Many of his discourses, however, have been given to the world, and many individuals from distant parts of the country and from foreign lands have listened to the tones of his voice as they filled this house. Those tones had singular sweetness and power. At first they fell so gently on the ear, that they failed to satisfy expectation; but they soon enchained the attention and touched the heart; even as the music of a quiet stream, or the passage of the summer's wind through the leaves, if we pause long enough to catch its melody, fastens us to the spot and awakens a thousand tender thoughts. The characteristic of Dr. Channing's style of pulpit address was simplicity—a simplicity so much in harmony with his whole character, so spontaneous an expression indeed of that character, that over them who knew him it had even more power than over the stranger. Does not memory recall him, my friends, as he appeared in this place, when his fragile form rose before us, and his feeble voice read the hymn which melted into our hearts as it came from his low but impressive utterance? He entered on his discourse as one talking familiarly on themes of serious but pleasant interest. As he proceeded, his voice gained volume and force, his countenance beamed with the illumination of high sentiment, his figure seemed to expand into proportions befitting the majesty of his theme and the grandeur of his thoughts. His diction becomes wonderfully rich, his words are pictures, his illustrations flow on as if he were unburthening a mind so full that it must give out a portion of its wealth. What vividness of intellectual conception, what fervour of chastened feeling, what energy of spiritual life! Hark! there is no sound but that which issues from those lips; the congregation are fixed in motionless attention, tears may be seen on many an upturned face, the persuasion of his language becomes more solemn, the sympathy between him and us more close, the address more direct, the silent response more immediate; till the discourse pauses, and we are restored to a consciousness of our independent existence only by the words 'Let us pray.' How often have we been thus affected by his wonderful power over our highest faculties!"

There is a remarkable testimony to the moral awe which his rectitude produced even in a mind distinguished for conscientiousness.

"With this tender and reverential piety he united a conscientiousness that was worthy to be its companion. I never saw another man in whom the principle of rectitude was so strong and wakeful. It was this alone that ever made me afraid of him, but I did stand in fear of that judgment which would never let partiality, nor compassion even, blind him to any compromise of personal integrity. Always ready to be as lenient as the truth would permit, his discernment of moral obliquity was too keen and the impression it made on him too deep to allow any one who wished to retain his esteem to deviate from the line

of right. His religious character, clinging thus on the one side and the other to piety and rectitude, both of which, while their basis is in human nature, lift their summits into heaven, had at once a stability and an elevation that are rarely witnessed."

The same impression seems to have been produced on every one who had personal relations with him. There are several passages to the same effect in Mr. Parker's very striking discourse. We select the following :—

"His fidelity to his moral and religious convictions made him strong and great. What he said seemed to come from nothing partial and peculiar to this man, or that man ; but from what is universal, the Soul of all our souls. He would think for himself. Nothing could pervert his moral judgment ; neither the eclat of greatness ; neither the antiquity of an ungodly custom become a law ; nor yet the respectability of sin long wonted to the world. Timid though he was, and self-distrustful to a great degree, yet when conscience spoke, he heeded neither the roar of the little, nor the clamour of the great which excites that roar. He saw through the shadows, and into the reality of life. Many knew more of things as they are ; few men have been so true to things as they ought to be. With him, to see what is right, was to begin to move towards it, for he made no distinction between things right and things to be done. He was single-hearted in his efforts, aiming at no personal aggrandizement. He forgot himself in finding the truth. He did not ask for the consequences of right action, or right thought, but took them when they came. He trusted God as a child its father, and did not fear to be true to truth. This moral simplicity was beautiful above praise."—p. 8.

"How he pleaded for man against the tyranny of ages past ; the tyranny of the present ; the despotism of social institutions ; the tyranny of the strong over the weak ! Still, his pleading was not a ' woe-unto-you,' but a ' Father-forgive-them.' You turn from the writings of a few great men and the multitude of little men, that are read amongst us, and in his page you find words which come straightway out of a heart full of love—love to all. His affection was strong and manly, not that pulling sentimentalism which takes a friend by the hand in a conference-room, saying, ' Oh, how I love you, my brother,' and after that has no more that it can do ; nor was it of that sublimated sort, which loves man as an abstraction, but treads individuals, concrete men, under foot in so doing. No, it was a love of making them greater, wiser, better. Though not found in the busy walks of men, few had so many that made him their adviser in spiritual things, and sought his sympathy in distress. He was disinterested, and forgetful of himself, to a degree rare among men. If he saw an error or a sin of society, he told of it. Distrustful of himself in many things ; so mild and meek that it seemed he would not break the wing of a perished fly,—when sin came before him, no fire was so scorching as his words ; no man's indignation like his. He did not ask, What will my friends or my foes think of *me* for

doing or saying this? but what he thought right to do and say, he did without fear. Living in a place where he said it was 'difficult to draw a long breath;' surrounded by men of views widely different from his own; dependent upon them, in some measure, when duty called him, he did not ask what they favoured; what they feared; or what they would tolerate; or what they would think of him, knowing that the consequences of truth God will take care of. A man truly religious—of whom should he be afraid?"—p. 12.

How sacred in beauty is this passage from the Discourse of Mr. Gannett! We extract it, because it communicates *life* to our impressions of Dr. Channing, and these are the memorials we wish to preserve.

"At such times the mere belief in Providence which acknowledges its universal care will not give us peace. We must be able to say, 'The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord,' The heart must have a perfect confidence in the rectitude and goodness of the Supreme Being. We must see his love through disappointment and desolation and death. The greater our loss, the greater must be our trust. The more help from man faileth, the more must we look for help to God. This is the true use, this in part the intended effect of affliction, and in proportion to the weight of the affliction must be the strength of the reliance on him from whom it comes. Thus does bereavement require and produce a filial piety, calling forth its exercise by establishing its necessity. What but trust in God, faith in him as the Father, a submission of the heart to his will, what else can enable us to view our present affliction rightly or bear it calmly? We feel it at this moment to be great beyond what we can express; it probably involves a loss of future counsel and support beyond what we can measure. He who was best able to direct our efforts after perfection, who was most faithful in exposing our errors, and most tender in encouraging our good purposes, whose prayers lifted our souls into the purity of the Father's presence, and whose discourse quickened our consciences as if a voice had come to us from above, whose example won us by its loveliness while it animated us by its success, he will no longer instruct or persuade, reprove or cheer us. There is no one to take his place either towards us or towards the land in which we dwell. Do we not feel this? What then can give us patient spirits under this bereavement? Nothing, nothing, but a trust in God like that which he exhibited at all times, in life and in death, and of which the prospect of death enabled him to give the most impressive as well as the final proof.

"He maintained his trust in God to the last, unbroken, undimmed, as firm and serene in the closing hour as in the midst of the labours on which his strength was expended. It would be a violation of the respect we owe to the intimacies of kindred to enter that sick chamber, if a voice did not issue thence, calling us to see how the Christian can die. It is the voice of that Providence which gives us the lesson, never



to be forgotten. We cross the threshold, and with tearful eyes behold the scene. But tears are not the suitable expression of what we feel, as we stand around him who will soon leave that apartment for heaven. The view of death, as it approaches, neither agitates nor saddens him. Life is pleasant in its many connections, and desirable for the opportunity it would afford to execute long-meditated plans of usefulness that have of late seemed to advance towards their completion. Suddenly did the mandate come which laid his now almost wasted strength upon that bed, far from much that was dear to him of local association and human friendship. But he is as tranquil as if he were enjoying health and home and the prosecution of every cherished purpose. He speaks of the Father's love, and of the delightful reality, beyond even his usual experience, with which it pressed upon his heart; of the inappreciable gift of Christianity, and of its Divine power and sure success; of the kindness which he receives through the offices rendered by those about him; and of the circumstances under which he is called to leave the world as determined by the Will which knows what is best. It is not in set discourse that he thus reveals the composure of his spirit, but in words more or less continued as his strength allows. There is no effort, and no excitement; but only the simplicity of truth and the repose of faith. He sleeps, and fragments of prayer are heard stealing from his lips, as if his dreams were of the higher world. He wakes, and asks that a part of the Saviour's teaching from the Mount be read to him. He remarks upon the beauty and preciousness and depth of meaning in those verses. The day wears on, as he calmly waits the appointed hour, and when the sun has fallen below the western sky, his countenance, over which the hand of death has passed so lightly that its momentary pressure could not be detected, bears the expression of an unearthly purity and peace. So did he die."—p. 12.

Along with this passage we place Mr. Parker's allusion to the "sunset" hour, as worthy to accompany it:—

"Each season the flowers and the stars had a new beauty in his eyes. Nature and man grew yearly in his esteem. He has gone from us; in the midst of his usefulness was he taken away, his eye not dim, nor his natural vigour abated. He has gone and we are left. To mourn at his loss? It cannot be otherwise. We must weep. The slave has lost that voice which pleaded so eloquently for him. The poorest boy amid the Berkshire hills is the poorer for his death. The babe born in a garret of yonder city is left more friendless than before. The mourner has one less to wipe her tears away. The selfish and wicked will hear no more his pathetic rebuke so often slighted. The wise man has lost a counsellor; the humblest a friend. Who is there to right the wrongs of the oppressed? He who has taken his servant where sorrow and sighing cannot enter. Shall we lament over the glory that has gone? No, let us take courage, and rejoice that so much goodness has been lived out; in our times; in the midst of us. When I compare him with the gifted men of England, whose mortal lids death has closed within not

many years; with Scott, Coleridge, Byron, Macintosh, Bentham, Stewart, Brown, I cannot but say his influence is deeper and far more elevating than theirs. But I must end.

"In the circumstances of his departure there was something exceedingly pleasant to remember. He had spent the summer in the valley of the Housatonic, among the Berkshire mountains; his 'soul went forth amid the vast works of God.' It had been the pleasantest period of his life. He was meditating a great work which he leaves not done. On the 1st of August he had delivered an address on the emancipation of eight hundred thousand fellow-men in the West Indies—a work not inferior to his best productions. He was returning to his home. Amid the lovely scenery of Vermont he sickened and lay. His family were about him. His senses continued to the last. It was a clear and balmy autumn day; the Sabbath; the day of his greatest labours, when he had spoken to so many hearts; the day hallowed to all our minds by lovely and long-cherished associations. The sun went towards the horizon; the slanting beams fell into the chamber. He turned his face towards that sinking orb, and he and the sun went away together. Each, as the other, left 'the smile of his departure' spread on all around; the sun on the clouds; he on the heart."—p. 23.

In one of the Notes to Mr. Gannett's Address we find this information respecting the works Dr. Channing had in preparation:—

"He had for many years contemplated the execution of one or more works which should unfold, more fully and systematically than was possible in separate discourses, his views of the nature and dignity of man as bearing on his destiny, of the principles by which society should be formed and governed, of the influence which Christianity is meant to exert upon the spiritual and social development of the individual and the race, and of the exhibition which it gives of the Divine character. Within the last year or two his plan had assumed to his own mind a more distinct outline, and he had written much which he might have incorporated into the Treatise to the completion of which he would doubtless have devoted himself more exclusively, if his life had been prolonged. How far the manuscripts which he left are in a state to permit their publication, it is impossible now to say."

In another of these Notes Mr. Gannett corrects an impression, which he says exists to some extent, that Dr. Channing at an early period of his Ministry had been a Trinitarian. He affirms, however, that till its close he held the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ. His published works give no sign of such a doctrine. Their reasoning and spirit, if not their express propositions, have seemed to us constantly to exclude it. Yet Mr. Gannett has had opportunities of exact knowledge, with which we can bring our own into no comparison. We respectfully ask for confirmation of this statement.

In the admirable Discourse delivered at New York by Mr. Bellows, evincing a true understanding of Dr Channing's mind, and a true sympathy with his spirit (there is no higher praise), we find a sentiment which was the first that came over ourselves when told of his death, though we are not sure we should have had the courage to express it. "But he is dead! and we feel at first as if the world were only half as well worth living in—since our nature has lost its best defender and illustration; our cause its chief strength and ornament; humanity its most courageous, enlightened, and skilful champion. We look round in vain for the shoulders on which his mantle may descend." Yet the influences and ministry from God, in Nature and Providence, under which he formed his spirit, and sustained his unworldly life, remain to us as to him. The world is as sacred as before, as true a nursery for noble natures.

The peculiarity of his intellectual character, and its intimate union with the moral principle, are described with great accuracy.

"His literary fame grew out of a few essays published at intervals in the *Christian Examiner*, which attracted the attention of the world. This is a remarkable instance of the immediate and wide recognition of intellectual greatness and entireness, in a few disconnected papers, neither addressed to fame, nor widely circulated. But the plain reason is, that every thing this man writes is full of him; full of the great and glorious principles with which he is now identified. He writes nothing that does not develope, enforce, or sustain, the neglected and fundamental truths, which it is his mission to revive or freshen in the human heart. It matters not how secular his theme may be, he is never false to his own sacred views; never inconsistent with them; never even momentarily forgetful of them; nay, all that he has written in the way of criticism, biography, or politics, has been only in application of his religious or spiritual principles to the different phases of life. There he sits in judgment upon Napoleon, with something of the solemnity and responsibility of the final judge. He writes of Milton as though pronouncing upon him the ultimate verdict of posterity, according to the unchanging principles of his own justice. There is a decisiveness and authority in these, and in almost all the writings of this man, which indicate his arrival at such clearness of vision in respect of primary truths, that he has rather to publish what he knows than what he thinks. And this is the peculiarity of all his writings. They seem hardly to come from a fallible source. We think instinctively of Jesus' saying, 'I speak not mine own words, but the words of him that sent me.' He views all things from the unimpassioned, serene height of the moral nature. He speaks not from the uncertain understanding, but from the pure reason; not to the feeble apprehension of the mind, but to the mighty common heart. Whose writings have so little disputation, ingenuity, or variety in them? There is no subtle reasoning, no close ver-

bal logic; no arguments addressed to the prejudices, or the passions, or based upon the hasty admission, or weak reasonings of those whose errors he strives to correct. His controversial writings are rather strong and convincing statements of truth, than searching examinations of opposite errors.”—p. 10.

“Never was man more self-consistent in his character, his opinions, and his history, than Dr. Channing. His mind has opened upon the world with the naturalness, proportion, and order, with which a tree developes itself from its germ. His opinions grow out of, and are related to each other, as the blossoms and the fruit grow out of the stock, and are related to the leaves. His character answers to his opinions, his conduct to his character, as effect answers to cause. And this results from the central characteristic of the man—his enthusiasm. He does not control ideas and principles; but they master and make him. He is possessed by God. He is given up to the faith which dwells in him. What in other men are theories, in him are laws; what in other men is belief, in him is character. His faith is works; his works are faith. As was said of Napoleon, ‘his words are battles,’ so of Channing it may be said, his thought is *action*. He *thinks* with all the earnestness and immediate sense of reality and responsibility, with which other men in great exigencies act. He watches his opinions as others watch their conduct. He has no speculative opinions. All his opinions bear fruit either in his inward, or his outward life; in his actions upon himself or upon the world.”—p. 14.

We cannot conceive a higher order of influence than is here described:

“It is by the instruments he has created that the palpable influence of Dr. Channing must be measured. He stands alone in the reverence and gratitude of many men, equal among themselves in ability and usefulness, and none of them second to any but *him*. He is a class by himself, both in the mode and the kind of his influence. It is of a higher order, and a more profound depth. It is nearer the centre of moral motion. It is this which accounts for the nature of his reputation, which is as great abroad as at home, and no greater, if as great, in his own city, than wherever the English language is known. His influence is not diminished by distance, because its seat is the mind and soul of those who receive his spirit. There is no more enthusiasm about him felt by those who know him, than by those who intelligently read him, because his greatness arises in the grandeur of the truth he embodies alike in his writings and his character. You do not need to see that he is what he preaches or writes. For the truths he reveals, the emotions he awakens, attest their own genuineness, and leave you not only without suspicion, but without thought of him. His presence neither disappoints nor heightens your idea of him. You expect to see a man of uniform elevation of mind, and dignified simplicity of manners, and such is found. He converses about things always with reference to principles, and the same principles. His conversation is as great as his writings, and as if a part of them. Both are simple, grand and inspiring.”—p. 9.



"During the last five years, he has been able to preach very little, but they have probably been the most active and useful years of his life. How he has spent them the world knows. But few know the personal influence he has exerted during this period. His house has been the resort of the most earnest, and striving, and hopeful among the rising generation in his own city, and especially those in his own profession. The sympathy, incitement, and instruction he has thus communicated, though beyond exact appreciation, is of immense extent, and expanding usefulness. No other man could so many strong and gifted men call 'father.' He influenced the most influential, and was as Saul among his warriors. The wisest most acknowledge his wisdom, and the holiest his holiness. Our churches feel his power, in every minister who enjoys their confidence and respect."—p. 25.

We must find room for one other passage from Mr. Bellows, expressive of Dr. Channing's trust in the quickening and healing power of *universal Liberty*:—

"There is one word that covers every cause, to which Channing devoted his talents and his heart, and that word is Freedom. Liberty is the key of his religious, his political, his philanthropic principles. Free the slave, free the serf, free the ignorant, free the sinful. Let there be no chains upon the conscience, the intellect, the pursuits, or the persons of men. Free agency is the prime distinction and privilege of humanity. It is the first necessity of a moral being. Extinguish freedom, and you extinguish humanity. Tyranny is spiritual murder, as Sin is moral suicide. All infringements of liberty are to be regarded as belonging to the same class. Political oppression, restrictions upon education, religious thralldom, domestic slavery, the tyranny of public opinion, the rule of fashion and wealth, the domination of a strong mind over weak ones; all these he dreaded, and for the same reason. Therefore, he laboured for no special sort of freedom. He was as eloquent a defender of free political institutions, as of religious liberty; of popular education, as of negro emancipation. So he denounced associations for their tyrannical influence. His whole religious teachings are directed towards freeing men from servitude to their passions, and appetites, and impulses. He would make every soul master of itself. The individual is weakened by dependence; he is enslaved by authority. Let him be his own master; act upon his own judgment and responsibility, and so have that root in himself, which alone gives worth to man. It was upon this principle that Dr. Channing strove to dignify humble pursuits in the eyes of their followers. He would not have a man think meanly of himself, or his occupation. He would exalt toil by the spirit of independence carried into it, and by the native dignity of the being it tasks. He frowned upon the silly pride which disdains labour. Without decrying or undervaluing social distinctions, he insisted most earnestly upon essential equality and mutual respect. He would lift up the head of false abasement, and make the menial walk erect in the presence of the master; he would teach the lowly to respect nothing but worth,

virtue, intelligence in their social superiors, and the proud to recognize goodness and enlightenment in the humblest walks of life. Few know how much this man has done to raise into self-respect and happiness the mechanics and labourers of our country, who felt themselves ground down in spirit, under the assumption and pride ascribed to the more privileged classes. I have seen the influence of that single tract of Dr. Channing's, styled 'Self-culture.' It has reconciled thousands to manual labour,\* satisfied them with their condition, by substituting their own respect, and the respect of God, for the condescension of riches and fashion, and taught them to look down upon ignorance and folly even clothed in purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day. And what is more, he taught social equality without Jacobinism and Agrarianism. The poor and humble were no *better*, but only as good as the rich and the proud. A man was a man in rags, but also a man in purple; the soiled hand of labour was still human, and so was the gloved hand of luxury. Toil needed to be taught what was respectable in affluence, as well as affluence what was venerable in toil. If there was pride, reserve, and contempt in the high, there was envy, jealousy, and hatred in the low. Therefore, if the rich respect the poor, the poor shall respect the rich. The less favoured are bound to honour and submit to the constitution of society, if the more favoured are bound to correct and adjust inequalities to the advantage of the unprivileged. In Dr. Channing's writings, attention is not fixed so much upon what is different, as upon what is the same in all men: mutual respect and love are based upon our common nature and destiny, upon our brotherhood and filial relation to one God and Father. Most radical as his spirit is in respect of human equality, there is nothing disorganizing in his writings. In this he imitates and resembles the spirit of the gospel, which, without violence or revolution, saps the strength of all abuses and errors, and by taking a higher or a deeper ground than existing institutions, obtains room and play for its own principles, without immediately or passionately displacing the customs or order which it yet dooms and finally destroys."

"In the same jealous love of liberty, Channing carefully guarded his own influence from abuse. He endeavoured, in himself, to represent his principles. He used neither his reputation nor his eloquence to bear down, authoritatively, opposition to his opinions. He sought not

\* "As the friend of the working classes, I should say that his great merit lay in exploding the vulgar, vulgar in every sense, notion that labour is an evil. He does not, like many, try to *reconcile* men to it, to put up with it for a time, but convinces them that it is fitted for beings like man, and that it is not merely to be submitted to, but cordially to be welcomed. Every working man who reads, or hears his wife or child read, Channing's Self-culture, or Elevation of the Working Classes, in the evening, will go to bed contented and happy, and come forth to his toil in the morning, not as a galley-slave to the oar, but 'as the strong man rejoicing to run a race.'

"He has made all men his debtors, but working men are especially bound to love him. He speaks of them and to them in words to which their ears are not yet accustomed. He does not speak to them in tones of pity or compassion, but with the voice of brotherly affection. Above all writers, he is of and for the people."—*Lecture on Channing, as a Writer for the People, delivered in Liverpool, by W. C. Connon.*

the passionate sympathy of crowds. He would not lead his own denomination on to battle, marshalled in rank and order. He refused to be made a king. There was a beautiful respect for the opinions of others, however humble, in his manners. He would not overawe and suppress freedom of thought by his commanding character. He rarely gave his own opinion till others had expressed theirs, and then with a marked tenderness, and an earnest desire not to force nor beg acquiescence. I have heard that he guarded his own children against the exclusive authority and weight of his own mind, and taught them to consult their teachers, influences, and opinions; and this, of course, not from the want of a profound interest in, and attachment to, his own peculiar views, but from a greater dread of sluggishness, parasitism, and irresponsibleness, than of error, or differences of opinion. In the same spirit, he was not alarmed at the freest inquiry. The excesses of liberty were less dangerous to his view than the least disfranchisement of human rights. No opinion alarmed him which resulted from thought or conviction. Living error was, in his judgment, better than deceased truth; the sick may be healed, but the dead must rot. Firm in his own opinions, he was therefore most respectful and lenient to the opinions of others, and especially of those who maintained a greater freedom than himself. With all aspirants after a higher truth, with all spiritualists and reformers, however extravagant and ill-balanced, he yet had a warm sympathy. The extravagances of the new philosopher, of religion, of anti-slavery, of social reform, interested him, and fed his hope for society. For they breathed of fresh life, of freedom; and sensitive to their errors, their rashness, and their impolicy, he was alive to their heroism, their faith, and their aspiration."—p. 23.

It is remarkable that each of the four American preachers whose Discourses have reached us, Gannett, Bellows, Parker, and Ellis, expresses the opinion that Dr. Channing is more justly appreciated in England than in America. We doubt not that Death will remove the inequality, and free the influence of his spirit from the obstructions of passion, interest, and party. We extract Mr Parker's declaration of his truer appreciation abroad than at home.

"Dr. Channing's influence was not confined to New England; the South and the West were warmed at his fire; not to the United States, for in England his works were more read, his spirit took a stronger and deeper hold than with us. The local jealousies, the party strife, the pecuniary interests, the fanaticism of a sect, had less power over his writings abroad than at home. He was not personally mingled with their discussions, nor involved in their strife, as whoever speaks must be at home, and therefore he was heard with something of the same impartiality as a voice from remote ages. The absolute value of his works was weighed more judiciously there, because the reader stood aloof from the war of opinions that went on with us. None of our

writers was so well known abroad among serious and religious men; none so well represented the morality and religion of our land: none contributed so much to wipe off the foul but just imputation cast upon us,—of caring only for money, and if that came, not caring by what means, though we violate all laws of man or God, and break our faith, and butcher the Red Man, who will not work, and chain the Black Man, whom stripes compel to toil.

“No American had such power abroad. His judgment on the great moral questions of the day was earnestly looked for by wise men, and respected when it came. We have had great men; men that did honour to their country and their kind; men of large soul and broad views, who have made a mark on their age; political men, that warded off the perils which hung over our heads, and helped us to live together on better terms. But I hesitate not to say, that since Washington, no man has died amongst us, whose real influence was so wide, and so beneficent, both abroad and at home.”

Mr. Ellis's Discourse, which views Dr. Channing as a Christian Philanthropist and Divine, is a very able and interesting production. There is a notice of the kind of influence which he possessed, which echoes what we have already quoted on this subject, and shows the universal agreement among his brethren as to this highest evidence of Power and Love.

“Dr. Channing was sought out by all those who felt deeper spiritual and intellectual wants than the common means of social life satisfied, by all those whose feelings, wishes or convictions were not in harmony with existing institutions. To the radiant circle of his home came our modern reformers, the new lights of religion, and the movers of strange projects in society. His influence over them all was for good. He ever spoke kindly and wisely, and it was but seldom to those who were his guests that he could not speak encouragingly. But we are not to ascribe to his advice any of their measures, which are greatly questionable; for, though he might encourage what promised good in all, yet it is but natural to suppose that eccentric and antagonistic spirits would make the most in their power of all his sympathy, whether much or little. It may be that some mistook his sympathy and kindness for full approbation and unlimited confidence. He took a deep interest in the young, especially those of his own profession. He had a perpetual craving after conversation and thought upon great subjects. He took the loftiest view of all interests, humble and important, and he never applied ridicule as a test of truth. As if conscious that the solemn air with which he could invest every theme might deter another from freely expressing himself, he would wait in silence till he had exhausted the opinion of his companion, who, after uttering his crude or juvenile thoughts, pleased to have such a listener, would need to urge in his turn, and then would be richly repaid, even in the consciousness that he was in communion with a mighty mind and a pure soul. He had attached to himself all the great philanthropic leaders of the day, and his was evidently



the mind from which they drew light, discretion and Christian wisdom. Beside a host of such among the living, how fondly did Worcester, Follen and Tuckerman, among the recently departed, cherish the privilege of his close friendship!"—p. 21.

"And must we say that he has gone? Other great subjects are to arise and perplex the world—subjects which shall call out warm utterances and hearty efforts; it may be, exaggeration and temper. They will require the elucidation and the statement of a calmly wise man. We have been wont to look to him. But he has gone. The light reflected back from his now sainted spirit is all we have of Channing. And whither has that spirit gone? Spirit, I say. And never did the force of that word, and of the mystery of undying existence which it signifies, ever so impress me before, as when I think or speak of the spirit of that departed Christian. For while he lived with us he seemed to be all a spirit—that frail, attenuated body, was but the thinnest drapery of the clothing which he wore. Scarce had he aught of body but a countenance, and that countenance had more of thought and love than of flesh and features. We know not whither that spirit has gone; but at sunset, amid the mountains, and as the evening dew of autumn fell, God called it home, and left to us the remains which now slumber in the ground. That spirit went forth consciously;—let us trust that its last utterance of triumphant faith for the world under the kingdom of Jesus Christ has been fulfilled by an immortal crown, a radiant garland for itself."—p. 23.

We turn now to the *English* tributes to the memory of Channing. They all breathe a loving, humble, and reverent spirit of admiration. To no other man would so many gifted men breathe forth the acknowledgments of discipleship. It is no small proof of their own Christian spirit, that men who would call no man master upon earth, approach him with such humble love.

Mr. Madge's Discourse is in the very best spirit, manly and glowing, breathing the cordial admiration of a sympathizing heart, and a generous mind. We rejoice that such true tones should echo back the voices that have come to us from the sorrowing churches of America,—and that in "unity of spirit" the two countries should vie with one another in the expression of their common veneration of the beauty of holiness. We extract one passage as an additional witness to the singleness of impression which the peculiar attributes of Dr. Channing's mind have produced on such a variety of men:—

"Of his claims to originality, I shall make no mention. There is inscribed upon his name a better, a prouder distinction than this. He himself was too intensely earnest, too deeply interested in the views and sentiments to which he was ever and anon giving utterance, to think for a moment of how they came into his mind,—whether they sprung up from silent communion with his own spirit, or whether they were

kindled there by the light of other minds coming into contact with his. One thing may with truth be asserted, that never did any man set forth the views which he deemed valuable and important, in a form more interesting, more attractive to the taste, more impressive to the heart, more awakening to the conscience. In meditating on his pages every one feels within himself that he has lying before him the words of a right honest and sincere man. Every one is impressed with the conviction that he is listening to the pure and ardent breathings of a magnanimous, disinterested, heaven-uplifted soul. This it is which constitutes the great charm of his writings. We know that we are reading, not what was written for effect, for parade, for self exaltation and advancement, for wonderment and fame; but what comes from the very soul of the man; what was really believed, what was really felt, what was the actual intent and purpose of his heart. There is no disguise, no reserve about him; he lays bare to you his whole inner being, tells you every secret thought that inhabits there, makes you feel that what he says he is constrained to say by the strong fervid convictions of a spirit impatient of restraint and demanding to be heard. No human love or human fear, no little hankering after this man's favour and that man's applause, steps in to arrest him in his plain, straight-forward career of saying and doing the thing that seemed to him right. The only question which appears ever to come up before him is, What says Conscience? What says Duty? What is the will of God? When that is known, his way is known; his course is determined. He consults not with flesh and blood; he enters into no treaty or parley with worldly considerations; he will submit to no terms of compromise. The counsels of prudence and care, he is willing and ready to listen to and follow, save only when they would silence the voice of principle, and substitute expediency for right. Then, indeed, he regards them as evil advisers, and spurns them from his presence."—p. 11.

In Mr. Robberds' excellent Discourse the character both of Dr. Channing's mind, and of his style, is admirably given in a single passage.

"Great principles, indeed, his mind seemed peculiarly fitted to perceive with clearness, and to embrace with ardour. Great principles, in both morality and religion, seem to have been the things which at once seized upon his attention, and took full possession of his heart. I could imagine in him an impatience of the minute investigations which are sometimes the duty of the scriptural critic and theologian; and therefore, as well as for the reason already given, I should not be prompt to say much of him in that capacity. But let a great truth, with respect to either God or man, be once clearly set before him, and he seemed prepared to follow it wherever it might lead him—to plead for it regardless of any prejudices he might thereby contradict and offend—to abide by it whatever might be the consequences to his own interest, safety, or reputation—in a word, to throw his whole soul into the at-

tempt to make it seen, valued, and loved, as he saw, valued, and loved it himself. Such truths, too, he appeared peculiarly qualified to state, vindicate, and recommend. His language, in speaking of them, seems that in which they would naturally embody themselves to his mind. It is as if the thoughts came ready clothed in the words with which they are sent forth—yea, or as if they were instinct with a creative life, which would in a moment put them in the best form for utterance. They rush forth in a stream of eloquence which takes away all feeling of there having been any difficulty in expressing them—any study bestowed upon the mode of expression—any pause, even of an instant, to deliberate and choose between different expressions. They come warm and living from his own mind, and pass at once into the minds of others.”—p. 11.

Mr. Robberds’ Discourse is inscribed to the Divinity Students of Manchester New College. Some of them may have listened with burning hearts to this true exposition of the relations of a great and good mind to all, who have had the blessing and the responsibility of receiving such an influence from the Fountain of excellence.

“ Thus let us think in relation to him whose services in this world are now reduced to those of his example and his writings. In these, ‘ he being dead yet speaketh,’ sufficiently for the purposes of that Providence which has appointed his removal. If another be needed to supply, in all respects, his place, that other will be found. And perhaps, the very event of his death may be the means of calling that other forth—nay, of awakening more than one kindred spirit, and of kindling, in more than one gifted mind, a like ardour of desire and purpose to enter upon a like honourable career. Perhaps even among those who hear me, there may be some in whom that desire is already glowing, and that purpose, although it may be as yet with much humility and trembling, sincerely entertained. Perhaps there may be here and in other Christian churches some, who from the writings of Channing, have already caught the fervent and generous wish to live for the promotion of ‘ truth, virtue, moral strength, love and happiness’ among mankind, and in whom the impressions made by his death have deepened that wish into the intensity and sacredness of a solemn vow. If so, may God bless and speed them !” —p. 14.

Mr. Armstrong’s Discourse contains one or two extracts from private letters of Dr. Channing,—which are of great interest from the simplicity with which he speaks of his own writings.

“ As to the interest you take in my writings, I can only say to you what I have often said, that the reception they have met with surprises me. I had no expectation of the effect they have produced. I am not on this account less grateful for the good, which, I trust, they are doing, and I have encouragement to labour, without which my life would be less active and happy.”—(*Written in 1835.*)

"Many of your expressions of approbation I am compelled by my self-knowledge to limit, perhaps, I should say, to disclaim. But whilst I question the soundness of the estimate which many make of my labours, I do not less rejoice in the proofs, which occasionally come to me, that what I have written has been quickening and exalting to some of my fellow-beings. I have a deep conviction that Christianity was intended to communicate energy and elevation far beyond what we yet witness; and that our nature was made, and is fitted for the sublimest influences of this religion. If I have helped to spread this conviction; if I have awakened in any soul a consciousness of its powers and greatness; if I have thrown any light on the grandeur of God's purposes towards his rational creatures; if I have done anything to expose the monstrous error, that curb and chains are the indispensable and the best means of educating the individual and the race; or if I have vindicated for the mind that freedom which is the chief element and condition of its growth; then I have accomplished the end to which I have devoted my powers. I thank you most sincerely for conveying to me the hope, that I have not been wholly unsuccessful. I feel my poor labours (for I cannot estimate them very highly) recompensed beyond measure by such language as you have used. You have given me a *kind* of approbation which I may enjoy without injury to my virtue, for your letter breathes sympathy much more than it expresses praise. I thank you, and I thank God, for this. Truth, though not responded to, is still truth; but how are we strengthened and encouraged, when, having sent it abroad, it comes back to us in tones, which show that it has penetrated the inmost souls of some at least who have heard it!"—(*Written in 1828.*)

Mr. Lewis' modest and judicious tribute to Dr. Channing also contains a private letter, detailing some particulars of his last moments. It reads like truth, and we give it upon the authority of Mr. Lewis.

"To say that Dr. Channing is *dead*, is an unfit expression; for his life was spiritual and eternal while here. \* \* \* We cannot bring home the idea that he is gone; he has been away so long that it seems as if he must come home this autumn as usual. \* \* \* He failed so gradually that his friends constantly hoped he was getting better, and he himself was the first to announce to them his decline. On Sunday afternoon Dr. Channing, observing that his friends were consulting about watching with him that night, said, '*You need not be anxious concerning to-night—it will be very PEACEFUL and QUIET with me;*' and this was the first time that his approaching death seemed to be brought home to them as a certainty from his own lips. Just as the sun was setting, he yielded up his breath, in perfect peace, without effort! He had been lying with closed eyes, his lips now and then moving as if in inward prayer; and occasionally opening his eyes with a smile to look upon those who watched around him; and now and then a very bright look dwelt upon his face, as if he looked far beyond them all into eternity;—a sort of expectation of something to be revealed. He retained perfect possession of his faculties to the last. This seems a beautiful and fit close of such a life—spent in usefulness. What a bright star he has been! and to how many souls! and I will not say, it is gone out. While his influence lives and shines still, there is no reality in his death; he is removed to another sphere; but those who have truly known him, know him still. Like all true teachers, he pointed to a truth and goodness greater and purer than his own, which is the home of every soul,—and in that home all will meet at last, who seek goodness and truth as the '*one thing needful.*' I heard some one say, '*it was one of the most beautiful features of his closing life, that there is so little to be told;—no death-bed scene,—no speeches which can be repeated as Dr. Channing's last.* His whole life was so simple, so unostentatious, that this is in accordance with his uniform character.'



Another person took the opposite view, and said, 'What a pity his last moments were not recorded; it is so important to know how such a man as Dr. Channing would view the subject of death.' But the answer was, 'The subject of death—the prospect of death—had pervaded his life; he had never lived without it; death could make no change in a soul whose life had been immortal!'

Dr. Channing's mortal remains were carried from Federal-street Church to Mount Auburn, and lowered into the grave by friendly hands alone. His mantle of perfect calmness and peace seems to have fallen upon his family. This was his influence in life, and in death it seems to have strengthened them. They have all been tranquil, calm;—not the calmness of torpor, or unnatural grief, but of *faith*. They do not shun, but are pleased to speak of him, to keep his spirit near, and close about them."

In Mr. Taggart's Discourse there is a passage containing a sentiment of equal truth and interest, showing the influence which one mind may have upon the widest interests. We suppose that all have felt it, but we have not met with the expression of it elsewhere. We could not part with our trust in America as long as Channing was among its children and citizens,—as long as Channing did not despair of the cause of justice, equity, and true freedom among a people so careless of honour abroad, so deeply stained by rude passions, and inhuman institutions at home.

"Such a being was necessary to sustain those hopes, to preserve those sympathies for our brethren of the United States, which many painful circumstances have contributed to weaken, if not to destroy; hopes and sympathies however, which the benevolent and Christian mind, the lover of his species, the believer in the intrinsic worth of human nature, and above all the admirer of free institutions, would not willingly let die. The subjects upon which Channing employed his powers, and to which his taste carried him in literature and morals;—the boldness, independence, earnestness, yet affection of his tone and sentiments, especially upon war and slavery, tended to bring him into sympathy with the best religious and moral spirit of our community, and to endear him to many minds and to many hearts. We shall not therefore forget to weigh his spirit and his virtue, his intellectual refinement, his lofty piety, his noble generous sentiment, in the balance, to counteract those painful impressions respecting the mournful extent and character of slavery, the hard and selfish spirit of social competition, the fraudulent and iniquitous commercial gambling, the monstrous and disgusting licentiousness of the public press, the diseased appetite for distinction, the insufferable tyranny of the uncultivated populace, and the timid subserviency of many of the better class; impressions which reach us from so many quarters, and which threw such dense and threatening clouds over the aspect of society in America."—p. 10.

His work on Texas is also mentioned in the right spirit.

"His pamphlet against the annexation of Texas to the territory of the United States, only sought as an additional colony for slaves, was one of his noblest productions; and, if I am rightly informed, was a powerful instrument in saving his country from a foul proceeding, which would have been viewed with indignant reprobation by every other nation of the civilized world. This is one of the few instances in which the voice of one independent and upright man has warded off from the community a mass of evil, and through the will of high moral principle guided the multitude in right paths. We are reminded by it of the poor wise man, spoken of in Ecclesiastes, who by his wisdom delivered a city exposed to

a multitude of dangers, a host of foes, and who gave just occasion for the saying, 'wisdom is better than strength,'—'the words of wise men are heard in quiet more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools; wisdom is better than weapons of war.'"

We cannot but regret that in Mr. Aspland's "*Attempt to Delineate the Character of Dr. Channing*," in most other respects breathing the reverence and love of a lowly disciple, there should be a revival of the vexed question of Channing's estimate of Priestley,—and in a manner which leaves the impression that Dr. Channing changed "a wrong opinion, injurious to a distinguished servant of God," without public retraction of his error, satisfying himself by silently dropping it from the later editions of his works. Our firm belief is that Dr. Channing did not materially change his opinion on the subject of Priestley, and that he omitted the passage, only because having once stated his view, he was unwilling uselessly to offend by again and again reprinting a statement that had given pain to many good men. Mr. Aspland says that for his view of the influence of Dr. Priestley "he was sternly rebuked by Mr. Belsham." It would be difficult to find any thing less likely to correct Dr. Channing's impressions, or to give him a favourable opinion of the spirit or the theology of the friends and representatives of Priestley, than that unmannerly letter.

It gratifies us to be able to present here a view of the relation which Dr. Channing bore, and is still to bear, to the modern development of Unitarian sentiments, and to add another name to the long list of those who, when he was taken from us, felt impelled to bless his memory.

"The name of Dr. Channing will henceforth be indissolubly associated with a new era in the history of religious opinion—and more especially in the development of Unitarianism. That honoured name belongs now to history: and though all who have prized the writings and moral influence of Channing, must have learned the tidings of his death with something of that consternation and profound sadness of heart, with which men who are contending for a great and noble cause hear of the sudden loss of a revered and trusted leader, at the very moment when his services can least be spared; yet, when we recover from the shock we have experienced, we must feel, that the fittest tribute we can render to his memory is calmly to estimate the position in which he has left our cause, and to invigorate our own purposes of good with a larger portion of that spirit which animated his life.

"Dr. Channing was strikingly distinguished from the older race of English Presbyterian divines, and the more doctrinal school of Priestley which succeeded it. Embracing Unitarian sentiments, yet retaining in full vigour many of the hereditary principles of the ancient Independents, in a region comparatively remote from the influences of European philosophy, he was admirably qualified by his native temperament for combining tendencies which had hitherto operated in different spheres, and which some had supposed were incompatible. To the enlarged ideas, the bold reasoning, the free and Catholic spirit of the rationalist theology, he added all the fervour and enthusiasm, the glowing imagination and the rich unction of a devotional sensibility, usually

deemed peculiar to what are called Evangelical views of religion : and in this respect he was undoubtedly the herald of a better day. He forsook criticism, to enforce and apply to the living wants of the human soul those great eternal truths of religion which criticism had already evolved, purified, and indicated. He seized the grand, universal principles of Christianity, as they presented themselves to his meditative intellect on the broad page of the Divine Word—and, assuming their truth, as sufficiently tested by the experience of eighteen centuries—without stopping at every moment to trace out their exact verbal agreement with the written record—without exercising at every turn of argument and expostulation, the office of apologist or interpreter—he stepped forth on the scene of human affairs with the intrepidity of spirit which ever accompanies the consciousness of great principles—to revise the interests which an age of revolution and scepticism had cast into unmerited neglect, to inspire the love of truth and right for their own sakes, to exalt virtue above utility, to restore religion to its proper seat among the warmest affections of the human heart, to plead for universal justice and freedom, to inculcate a boundless trust in the wisdom and benignity of the Universal Father, to teach us, in the largest and noblest sense, to honour all men. It was because he thus spake—so earnestly and so truthfully—to the universal heart and conscience of man—soaring far above the narrow distinctions of sects and creeds—that he found readers and admirers among all parties and all classes, in his own country and in Europe; and that he has contributed more than any other writer to render at once intelligible and popular, views of religion and duty which in other hands have never obtained any large share of public sympathy. He was a patriot too—faithful and uncompromising; and if his country should escape the perils which menace her, and fulfil the splendid presages which dawned on her birth, he will be remembered in calmer and happier days among the best and wisest of her sons—as one who disdained to flatter her prejudices, who warned her of her dangers, who scrupled not to tell her unpalatable truths, and who, with the clear vision of a prophet, pointed out the sole path of her future greatness and glory.

“The light of that intellect is extinguished to earth. The accents of those eloquent lips are mute in death. But why should we be disheartened? He has left us a glorious legacy. He has taught us to have faith in truth and virtue, and to rely on ourselves. The gifts of eloquence and philosophical wisdom with which he was so richly endowed, are indeed conferred on few; but he prized far above these that capacity of moral excellence which is common to all. Herein is the true nobility of man; and herein the humblest amongst us may be like him. The fame which he acquired as an author and preacher, he would have viewed among the accidents of the nature which God had bestowed on him; but the faithful consideration of every allotted measure of talents, whether more or less, to the service of truth and virtue, every page of his writings has taught us to regard as the worthiest title to love and reverence in any child of man.

“Placed in other circumstances, and having a very different contest to sustain, let us strive to resemble him in purity of mind, in benevolence of spirit, in courage, in honesty, in single-minded devotedness to the highest interests of humanity : and though we may for the moment be cast down by the reflection that the great and the good of the last generation are departing from us, with none apparently of the same distinguished excellence to take their place, let us remember that God can fulfil his purposes as effectually by humble as by exalted agents, and that the combined fidelity and uprightness of many inferior spirits may compensate in the ways of Providence for the inseparable loss of one great mind.”\*

One other voice speaks here its reverence and blessing on Channing's name; one other testimony is given to the felt

\* From an unpublished Sermon by the Rev. J. J. Tayler.



greatness of his mission. Oppressed with the fear of speaking unworthily, when yet we ought not to be silent, we turn with glad relief to the impressions of other minds, uttered with sincerity and love. If unity of view is thus broken, we are enabled by this means to collect, at least, more of the materials for a perfect delineation than we had ourselves the power to supply.

“There are those to whom God has given the blessed power of darting into the central region of the Spirit, and carrying the shock of instant persuasion there,—of facing some hard point, or bursting some heavy tension, that made a thralldom there before;—who can startle men with the visible apparition of their hitherto unshapen convictions, and speak that, to which resounds throughout their nature a clear ‘Amen,’ as if sealed from the voice of the Eternal; or who can subdue them by the silent energy of a brave, consistent, and holy life, filled with beautiful deeds, a memento of divine obligations, and suggestive of immortal hopes. Whoever has this initiation into the mysteries of our humanity,—whoever can hush the outer turmoil of sense and doubt, and interest and passion, and command the inner silence of God, is a messenger of the Most High, entitled to rebuke all priesthoods, and secure of audience from many an emancipated heart. Such were the prophets in Hebrew times, whom God raised up to watch the sacerdotal order, to revert to the primitive sentiments of religion, to check the excessive reverence for ceremonial worship, and open to the thirsting people the fountains of living waters, hidden in the clefts of their nature. Of all such must Jesus have felt himself the Divine Chief: therefore was he the true destroyer of the hierarchies of Jerusalem and Rome; and entitled to seek solitary audience, in the absence of every sacerdotal spy with the great, deep heart of man. Such were Luther and his friends, who did but reassert for Christ this original claim, and open for his holy ministrations a secret confessional in the private soul, in place of the priest’s closet in the church corner. And such, pre-eminently in our age, has been that high and noble soul, whose departure from us has mingled an unspeakable sadness with the last tidings from the western world, and will be felt as a bereavement by every nation that speaks the English tongue. If ever man got private admission to the human heart, and spake for it the wants it could not utter, and told the meaning of its sorrow and its strife, it was our wise and earnest Channing. In the silencing of that sweet and solemn voice, a word of divine prophecy grows dumb; and who can tell what we have lost in the great thoughts and ripened love, from which God hath sealed those persuasive lips? Certainly, one of the mighty and beneficent powers of our world is gone in him. While he was with us, not only individuals, but churches and nations, might feel assured that nothing could be seriously wrong with them, without the uplifting of his faithful arm, and the deep pleadings of his fervid speech. Amid the noise of popular passion, in the rage of faction, during the growl across the ocean of state thunders, portending fearful war, he, almost alone,—serene amidst the storm,—made the music of a heavenly wisdom heard. Never betrayed by love of country into blindness to the claims of man,—incapable of the numbness of custom which, with lower souls, deadens the sense of constant wrongs, and takes away the horror of gainful and familiar guilt,—kindled to inspiration by generous and disinterested deeds, in whatever clime they are produced, by whatever people done,—he moved through human affairs with that undisturbed and godlike perception of the true and merciful and good, on which minds that feel the agitations of a less tranquil region must ever look with awe and trust. The first period of our sorrow is not quite the time to pass a critical judgment upon the work which he has performed in life, and fix the precise place which he occupies in the providential history of our humanity. Rather is it fitting, in the freshness of this loss, to say only a brief and affectionate adieu to one who, as he



blessed us, has been parted from us. Poor and paltry were it to deny our dependence upon him, and pretend, even in relation to our faith, that we are above the influence of such authority as his; *not* to feel it were to be cold to the most earnest wisdom, and most penetrating love. By the Divine right of sanctity and virtue, he was as a Master among us. He did not impose upon us *his* faith, but he awakened and revealed *our own*; faith in *truth*, that fears nothing so much as accommodating insincerity, and loves nothing so well as the realities of God; faith in *men*, that dares appeal direct to their deeper and devouter heart, instead of their superficial sentiments of custom; faith in the *God within us*, who calls us to cast aside all conventional compliances, as the temptations of a fiend, and enter upon the simplicity of Christ; faith in the *God without us*, who has so arranged the world that to prudence and diplomacy in religion no lasting triumph is given, but only to self-sacrificing trust. Never let us part with this high faith, or consent to a life unworthy of its greatness: above all, let us give no heed to those mean predictions for our kind which he has convinced us are vile and false; but hold fast to that reliance on the worth of man, whence alone any good enterprise of love can acquire a Divine strength and patience. This was the great source of our departed Apostle's power; this the test by which he tried all that came before him for judgment: the theology which he rejected, the military greatness which he despised, the social tendencies which he resisted, the slavery which he abhorred and put to blush, met their sentence of condemnation in his thought, because they reviled, distressed, and degraded the human being. And, in like manner, the religion which he so persuasively pleaded, the men of genius whom he presented to our reverence from the past, the labours of benevolence which he delighted to promote, the national institutions in which he gloried, were all recommended to him by the confidence and good hope they inspired or expressed for man, by their recognition of him as something glorious and sacred in the universe of God. His conflict with evil is over now. It is left for all who honoured him to take up as they can the etherial weapons of truth and love that have dropped from that faithful hand. May we find courage to surrender ourselves to his high and noble faith! May we freely give our lives, like his, to build up that mighty sanctuary of human improvement which is *not* 'made with hands,'\* and which, not rising in 'forty-and-six years,' but through unending ages, shall have duration with the Providence Divine."†

Our limits compel us to stop. We regret that we cannot do individual justice to every one of these Discourses. We ought to say that we have placed at the head of this Article the titles of some Discourses, which, though we have sought it, we have not had the opportunity of seeing.

We would only add, in a few words, such information as has reached us respecting his close of life.

Whilst travelling among the mountains of Vermont, seeking strength for new labour, and communing with God in Nature, God called him from all weakness, weariness, and ineffectual strivings, to the peace, loveliness, and triumphant action of celestial life. He died at Bennington, at sunset, on the 2nd of October. It has been reported to us that the last words he distinctly uttered were, "Be ye perfect even as your Father

\* "In allusion to the text, Mark xiv. 58, 'Destroy this temple, that is made with hands, and within three days, I will build another made without hands.' "

† From an unpublished Sermon, by Rev. James Martineau.

which is in Heaven is perfect." They are, more than any other words, descriptive of the *form* of his mind; of the favourite *direction* of his affections, sympathies, and aims; and of the *source* whence his inspiration, his irresistible moral Power, was derived. A sense of the connection of the human spirit with God, as of a child with an all-communicating Parent,—and the idea of Perfection which this spiritual tie brought home, and made a familiar obligation to the heart,—these comprise the great characteristics of his Nature,—they were the fountains of a *divine* light to his own spirit, and to the force and clearness with which he spoke of them as Realities, all his influence on the world is to be ascribed. "Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect." And by a singular and beautiful fitness, he may be said to have died with these words on his lips. On the evening of his death he listened to the last ten verses of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew; he took up these closing words, and *repeated* them, and fell into a sleep from which he woke no more to mortal life. We do not attach essential value to the last hours of existence; we know the circumstances and causes which often render those moments of no spiritual significance,—but God sometimes permits them to be the solemn attestations of Christian experience to the highest Truths of the soul, and in this case, coming thus unconsciously, accidentally as it would appear to us, it is singularly strengthening that one, whose Standard of the Christian Life subjected him to some charge of Mysticism while he lived, should once more take up the same spiritual ground as the support of Death, and re-assert that Divine Faith when his soul could utter it only to his God.

"He being dead yet speaketh." For no gifts should we be more grateful to the Father of spirits than for the aids imparted to us by pure, lofty, and faithful minds. Such blessings are indeed the choicest "talents" with which the Lord of all intrusts his servants. Their example, their influence should speak louder to us in death than in life, for they now speak from Heaven,—no longer man to man, but the immortal to the mortal. A true spirit does not cease from its influence when it dies to this world; often, it then only begins to exert its greatest power. The dead are the *rulers* of the world. The great spirits that guide the souls of men are all with God. Jesus who, when living, was rejected and crucified, now reigns from Heaven. Our great ones are passing from us. We are more and more left to ourselves, and to men like ourselves. May this summon us to new effort, to independent power, to the intercourse and communion of our own souls with the *Fountains* of all excellence and light, our Father and our Saviour!

THE

# CHRISTIAN TEACHER.

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## ART. I.—BABBAGE'S NINTH BRIDGEWATER TREATISE: THE ARGUMENT FROM DESIGN.

THIS volume is made up of Notes, which the Author seems to have written at different times. Some of these Notes are mere fragments, out of which, even the most attentive reader will find it difficult to derive any instruction. The occasion for this publication appears to have been given by a charge of Mr. Whewell, in his *Bridgewater Treatise*, against Men of Science—*i. e.* Men chiefly devoted to Pure and Applied Mathematics. Mr. Whewell calls them “Mechanical Philosophers,” and denies them “any authority with regard to their views of the administration of the Universe:”—

“We have (he proceeds) no reason whatever to expect from their speculations any help, when we ascend to the first cause and supreme ruler of the universe. But we might perhaps go farther, and assert that they are in some respects less likely than men employed in other pursuits, to make any clear advance towards such a subject of speculation.”

Mr. Babbage feels indignant at this charge; and in order to show that it is contrary to Fact, he gives us some of the religious Thoughts which his own Pursuits, in the theologically condemned Department, have raised in his Mind at various Times.

There is a passage (Preface, pp. xiii. xiv.) which must call forth the Sympathy of every liberal Mind:—

“Who that has studied their works ever dreamed of inquiry into the moral or intellectual Character of Euclid or Archimedes, for the purpose of confirming or invalidating his belief in their conclusions? Who that

possesses confidence in his own reason, justified by a laborious cultivation and successful exercise of that faculty, fails to anatomize and refute the arguments, rather than analyse the mental or moral habits of those from whom he differs?"

But Mr. Babbage should not be surprised at the appearance of such a Spirit even in a Man so superior to the generality of Clergymen, as Mr. Whewell. The Progress of all independent knowledge, of all knowledge not squared with the Doctrines on the supposed Truth of which the Power of all Christian Priesthoods depends, has at all times produced a Jealousy, formidable to the Possessors of such knowledge, in Proportion to the Power and Influence enjoyed by the Hierarchy. The safety of all Churches whatever, depends upon the Absence of independent Thought, respecting every subject which comes into direct or indirect Contact with their Tenets. Now as those Dogmas are intimately connected with every branch of Knowledge, they must necessarily stand in the way of all mental Progress.

If in England however the Jealousy of the Clergy has been particularly directed to Men of Science, it is because hardly anything else is cultivated beyond the Circle drawn by the CLERICAL Universities. Let it be observed that as soon as Political Economy reared up its Head, it became an object of Suspicion. It must be so. If I may use a vulgar Proverb, "Every one knows where the Shoe pinches him."

The Universities have however perceived the Course which the Character of our Times requires on their Part. They have, as all permanent Bodies of Men, an instinctive Perception of their own Interests under the most varied and even opposite States of Things. In former Days they implored the Assistance of the Civil Power, and stopped the Mouths of those they feared: at present, they affect Liberality, and under the Appearance of taking the new Branch of Knowledge under their Protection, they endeavour to give it such a Turn as will best accord with their established and unchangeable Notions. And they are sure to succeed in a certain Measure. There are very few Men that, belonging (as the Professors must) to those Bodies, will have the Courage to speculate boldly. All of them will endeavour to shape their Teaching so as, at all Events, not to excite Alarm.

But is there any Ground for the Charge which Mr. Whewell makes against Mechanical Philosophers and Mathematicians? Are Men exclusively devoted to these pursuits more likely to incline to Atheistical Views, than mere Men of Letters, for instance?—I do not believe it. I think that La Place would have denied the Existence of any Proof of Design in the Exter-



nal Universe even if he had been a mere Classical Scholar. It is true, on the other Hand, that if the Superstitious System of Education generally pursued, had been strongly applied to such a Mind, and all Access to that kind of Knowledge which invites the Soul to Freedom of Thought had been prevented, La Place might have believed in that anthromorphitic God which is the almost Universal Object of what is called Religion.

I would adduce Mr. Babbage himself as a Proof of this Assertion. From every View expressed in his Book it is evident that he has no higher Ideas than these.

In such an Idol Deity he firmly believes in Spite of his great mathematical and mechanical knowledge ; so deep indeed is the Root which that anthromorphitical Theism has in him, that even his Calculating Machine has strengthened his Convictions. In this respect most Men, in this Country, stand upon equal Ground. From a want of Instruction in the Philosophy of the Mind, or anything approaching to it, all who attempt the Subject of what is called Natural Theology are (*cæteris paribus*) equally incompetent to establish the truly PHILOSOPHICAL PROOFS of the Existence of the Deity. Their other Pursuits cannot either contribute to, or oppose their Aim. So far as they have a true conviction of a SUPREME SPIRIT, they owe it to the NATURAL Seeds of that Conviction which are found in every human Soul. Those who are inaccessible to that Conviction owe their Misfortune entirely to the Fallacies on which Divines ground it. But neither Mathematics nor Mechanism, nor the most scientific Combination of both, will ever be able entirely to close the Eyes of any candid Mind to the Traces of a God in the external World; nor can the whole Theology of Europe be able to remove the Misgivings of any such Mind which looks for Conviction in the works on Natural Theology. Before any Man can see the Traces of God in the external World, he must have found Him in the internal World within his own Mind.

That Mr. Babbage has found the Deity, not by any philosophical Process, but simply through the Consciousness of his own intelligent Being, and that his mechanico-mathematical Pursuits have not obscured or disturbed that internal Testimony, is evident from the Contrast between the seriousness of his Conviction and the Insufficiency of the Arguments on which he would support that Conviction. His Mind is as unphilosophical upon this Subject as that of the most uneducated person in the Kingdom. And so indeed must be the Minds of those who conceive themselves as profound Divines, if they have not by their own private Studies filled up the Gap which English Education universally leaves in Regard to this subject. The God of

English Philosophy is as pure an Idol as any that was ever represented in Wood or Stone. Idolatry does not depend on the Materiality of the Image, but on the Image itself, shrined within the Imagination. This is nearly the state of most People brought up under the Influence of the various Hierarchies among Christians. As the Savage, at the lowest Steps of mental Development, transfers the Notion of himself AS CAUSE, to some invisible Being who gathers the Clouds into Storms, into another that causes the Plague, or, under peculiarly happy circumstances, in mild climates, into benevolent Agents who multiply his Sheep and Cattle, deck the Ground with Flowers, and make the Trees bend under delicious Fruits; so are we taught to concentrate all Causality within a very indistinct Image, which our early Teachers urge us, under the sense of the greatest Crime and Danger in case of Refusal, to deck with the most contradictory Attributes, and call it God.

This idolatrous, anthropomorphic Tendency has found, as it were, a Place of Rest, in that ancient corruption of Christianity which, borrowing a primitive Symbol from the Eastern Nations, established an INCARNATION of the Deity as the Basis of true Religion. The idolatrous Longing is here satisfied at once. The Trinitarian Christian has only to form to himself the Image of a "perfect Man," with a benevolent countenance, and something like a Halo round his head; and say of him that he was as weak, and as subject to Pain and Suffering as any other Individual of the Race; but that he was at the same time Omnipotent, Omnipresent, Incapable of Pain, Immortal, &c. This is exceedingly easy to most People; and especially so because, whatever slight suspicion of Contradiction these two statements might raise in their illogical Minds, entirely disappears when they think that all the Imperfections of the Man were swallowed up by the God upon his returning from Earth to Heaven. Surely whatever Satisfaction an ancient Idol could give to the Imagination, is equally found in this Human-God, with the Advantage besides, at least among Protestants, who have not yet RETURNED to the Worship of Images, to which many are approaching, of an Appearance of Spirituality.

Let us see whether the Deity pointed out by Mr. Babbage is anything but a human Mind both finite and infinite—both omnipotent and of confined Power:—

"But if this respect and admiration (he says, p. viii.) are yielded to the mere (human) interpreter of Nature's laws, how much more exalted must those sentiments become when applied to the Being who called such principles into living existence by creating matter subservient to

their dominion—whose mind, intimately cognizant of the remotest consequences of the present as well as of all other laws, decreed existence to that alone, which should comprehend within its grasp the completion of its destiny—which should require no future intervention to meet events unanticipated by its author, in whose omniscient mind we can conceive no infirmity of purpose—no change of intention.”

We would request Mr. Babbage, who is certainly a great Master of Analysis, to apply the Acuteness of his Mind to the development of his own Ideas. He speaks of a Being *who called principles into living Existence*. A Principle in living Existence must mean, an Existence to which a Principle applies. The Principle cannot be anywhere except in an intelligent Mind. We know nothing of a Principle except that it is a View of our own Minds, to which we reduce a multitude of particular Instances. Can such Views be brought into Existence independently of such a Mind as that which we know in ourselves? But Mr. B. conceives that God created Matter and then made it *subservient to the dominion* of Principles. It is evident that our very able and Scientific Author has left the Notion of Creation in his own Mind just as it was instilled into it by his earliest Nursery Instructors. He has no suspicion that Creation out of Nothing is a pure Contradiction, in which Nothing is supposed to be Something. And what shall we say to Matter made for the Purpose of Subjection?—Subjection to Principles! Of Matter we know Nothing; but this we certainly know, that the Phenomena of what we call Matter do actually BRING OUR MINDS UNDER THE SUBJECTION OF THE PRINCIPLES the knowledge of which it occasions in ourselves.

There are still more palpable Contradictions in the Passage before us. The Mind of the Created Being is represented as “intimately cognizant of the remotest Consequences of the Present as of all other Laws.” Here we have Laws without Application—Laws without anything subjected to them. Mr. B. cannot mean anything but the various Conceptions which the human understanding forms of the Possibility of other Modes of Existence. Are these Conceptions Laws? Can any Man who profoundly examines the Subject remain without the Suspicion that Nothing but what exists is POSSIBLE? That to say the Contrary is the same as to say that what exists, exists by Chance?—But to this our Author will say that the Eternal Mind chose the present among infinite Modes of Existence. This assertion gives the finishing Stroke to the Image of Man himself raised into God. The infinite Mind is “cognizant” of all those systems: this is to say that they are OBJECTS of that Mind; which makes them independent of God himself. Among these

objects which on the above supposition are not Himself, God chooses One—With or without any Reason? we ask:—"By an Act of independent Will," we shall be answered. Independent of what? Certainly not of God's own Being and Nature. In God the Will cannot be different from his Reason. He is himself the Supreme Reason: before this Supreme Reason there can come nothing that admits of Choice.

Lastly we find that the System brought into Existence is one which may work for itself under the Principle to which it was made Subject. Here we see God retiring from his Work and leaving it, like a well-ordained and set Machine, to work away without the Necessity of Intervention. Is this the Omnipresent, the Infinite God whom we expected to find?—Certainly not. It is nothing but an Idol.—Now if Mr. B., reflecting freely and boldly upon all these Contradictions, were to suspect great Flaws in the Proofs of the Existence of the Deity, should we be right in blaming his Mathematical Pursuits? In what possible Manner could they originate such a mental Process? The Blame, in Fact, would not lie fairly upon Mr. B.'s Science, but upon his Catechism, and the Articles of his Church—both of which seem to have enjoyed an equal Dominion upon him and upon those who charge Mechanical Science with an Atheistical Tendency. Such a Tendency must exist in every Mind which has acquired Confidence and Activity, by any Studies whatever, if it has developed itself under the erroneous Conviction that the true Proofs of the Existence of the Deity are those which Divines exclusively know and approve.

Proofs of DESIGN are most industriously sought in every Department of Nature: a munificent Reward has been held out at the Death of a Man to whom gross Misconduct had made Residence in his own Native Country unsafe, notwithstanding the Veil which the ecclesiastical Character, Wealth, and Nobility, can throw over most Sorts of Profligacy; and that Reward, probably intended as an Atonement for a Life spent in Sensuality, has acted as an Inducement to some especially appointed Scientific Men, for applying their knowledge of Nature to the Purpose of discovering DESIGN in her Works. But it is curious that not one of these Writers ever thought of Settling beforehand the true Conception of Design. People will, I doubt not, start at this Observation. They will be astonished to find that there is any one who asks what Design is; for, to Men who have never ventured into the Depths of their own Mind, the very Darkness that lies over them, imparts the Certainty and Repose of Intuition. DESIGN they will say, is DESIGN, and to ask an Explanation, is to demand the Definition of a Simple



**Idea.** But let those who have not lost all Power of mental Examination consider in themselves that which they name Design, and they will find that what they call so in the Works of Nature, is only a MENTAL MODE of viewing them; it is viewing those Works under the Hypothesis of their having a Maker similar, though far superior in Intellect, to ourselves. We assume that Hypothesis in Order to explain to ourselves the various Modes of Existence on which our external observation dwells; and the only Truth that this View of Design in the Works of Nature contains is this: that if we had had Power to perform such Works we should have made them with DESIGN.

This is all that our purely SUBJECTIVE knowledge of Design can prove. We have no ground for concluding that the Works of Nature have been brought into Existence in a similar Way, unless we declare the Creator's Mind as limited and as progressive as ours; unless we consider Him in the Act of solving physical Problems, the Data of which are Objects of his Contemplation, and totally distinct from the mental Power that contemplates them. But let us explain analytically what it is that we call DESIGN in ourselves.—That peculiar State, or Condition of our Minds, may be defined THE NOTION OF A NOTION; a Process which essentially implies Limitation in the Cognitive Being which is subjected to it by the Laws of its Existence. When we therefore attribute Design to God in the Formation, for Instance, of the Eye, we assert that the knowledge of the Nature of Light (i. e. the Notion of Light) was the Basis of the System of Laws employed in the Construction of the Eye—that it was the Ground and necessary Condition of the Notion of the Eye.—That this implies a denial of the Divine Nature which is intended to be proved, must be evident to every one who will seriously endeavour to understand himself when he denies all Imperfection arising from Limitation, in Regard to the Divine Being. In the infinite, Eternal Mind, Knowledge must be perfect Actuality: it cannot proceed by Steps; it does not want MEDIA for conclusions. In a Word, since what we call Design in ourselves necessarily implies LIMITATION, it is absurd to look for proofs of it in the Works of the Creation: all Arguments of this Kind are DELUSIONS which divert our View out of the right Direction.

The sincere and devout Believer in a Living God, who in the Pursuit of philosophical Truth, despises every Fear, and, in Obedience to the Laws of his own Mind, tears with a bold Hand the Veils which Superstition has, at all Times, raised around the Idea of the Deity, receives a deep Gratification by

finding that in Proportion as these false Proofs of the Divine Existence are exposed, so does the only, the universal Ground of Conviction manifest itself in all its Solidity and Firmness. That Ground is indeed out of the Domains of logical Argumentation; and so it must be, if the Supreme Being has for his Essence that moral Character which every upright Heart attributes to Him—and which pure Christianity, the Echo of all such Hearts, has positively and prominently declared. If he is Our Father—and if the Knowledge of Him as such must be the most important Knowledge to all, we should expect that the Root of it must be found in every Man. It is no valid objection to this that the Growth which proceeds from that Root is generally wild, that its Fruits, unripened by the Light of true Civilization, are often bitter and even poisonous. The Means of Civilization have been provided, though the Period in which they can fulfil their End appears too vast to the Wishes of our very limited individual Existence in this present Life. We have, at all Events, the strongest Reason not to object to such an Arrangement; but the first Principles of our moral Being—the Principles of our practical Reason—reject the Supposition that, if a moral, benevolent, paternal God exists, he should have chosen the Depths of Science to manifest Himself MORALLY to Man. Such an Arrangement would both justify and perpetuate the Superiority which Priesthoods have always claimed over the great Majority of the People on the GROUND of Knowledge. When all other Priesthoods had disappeared before that Civilization of which even the humblest Classes are capable under well-regulated Governments, a new Hierarchy would appear in the Men of Science—in those who alone could fully vouch for the Existence of Design in Nature's Works: and, surely if the Marks of Design are a valid (nay, as is pretended, the most valid) Proof of the Existence of God, the Title to such Authority would be perfectly unquestionable in the Scientific Hierarchy.

But why are the Arguments from Design so popular?—Because the innate Desire of Conviction, in Regard to the Existence of a MORAL, PERSONAL God, is so common and so strong, that all Persons, with very few Exceptions, who are incapable of discovering Fallacy in the usual Argument, cling to it from pure religious Affection.—But (it will be said) that even granting all that has been here stated to be perfectly true, the Wish to disturb that popular Conviction is not only ungracious but dangerous. “If People believe in God it can be of no Importance whether the Grounds of that Belief are logically sound or not.”—This is precisely the old doctrine of Pious Fraud

—a pernicious Maxim which in every Age, since that of which we have some Knowledge in the earliest Records of History, has been constantly assuming different Forms suited to the Character of different Periods.—Men will not understand that the most unquestionable Truths, if raised to the popular View upon the Basis of Error, must seem to totter and fall as soon as the Progress of Knowledge shall have undermined that treacherous Ground. Unfortunately very few Men concern themselves about Evils which they see at a Distance beyond the natural Limits of their own Lives. The Bias of this Selfishness is, however, so deeply placed in the Heart, so disguised into Love of Order, Religion and Morality, that only a very few Consciences will ever discover it. But there is a more obvious Objection to the refined Pious Fraud in Question—one indeed which must have some Weight with all Men who have not deliberately bound themselves to carry on the profitable Game of Deception. It is this: The Class of thinking Minds is greatly increasing every Day in civilized Countries. This class emerging as they are from a state of ignorant Submission to religious Authority, of some Kind or other, must be, for a long Period, morbidly alive to every Appearance of Pious Fraud. What then will be the Consequence of propagating unsound Arguments for the Existence of the Deity, among such a Class of People?

It must be a formal Determination never to bestow another Thought on such Subjects; to make the best of the Means of Gratification that Chance may offer, (perhaps under the Control of truly Epicurean Moderation,) and since (as it will appear to such Minds) all Efforts to discover Truth in Religion have hitherto ended in thorough Disappointment, to turn away with Horror and Disgust at the very names of Soul, Conscience, and moral Responsibility.—Now, I have Reason to assert that this practical Result is very common among us; and I am moreover convinced that if, allured by the SCIENTIFIC Information contained in a CONSIDERABLE PROPORTION of the Bridgewater Treatises, a numerous Class of Men who pant after PHYSICAL, under a total Ignorance of MORAL-INTELLECTUAL Truths, should make those Treatises an Object of attentive Examination, the Cause which those Volumes are intended to support will lose more Ground than under the Attacks of the professed Atheists of the eighteenth Century.

I do not make this Assertion conjecturally. I have studied the Argument from Design both in the Ancients, and the Modern, and have given myself up to it under the Impulse of deep-seated religious Feeling. I can repeatedly read with



Pleasure the best Statement ever made of that Argument—that of Socrates in the *Memorabilia*: and I am bound to declare that there are Parts of it which act with the greatest Power upon my Mind. But there is an essential Difference between the Ancients and the Moderns in Regard to this Argument: in the former it has generally a MORAL FEELING for its Ground, in the latter it is generally founded on MECHANICAL Contrivance. The imperfect Knowledge which the Ancients had of physical Nature concealed from them the numerous Details which, especially in the Department of animal Life, cannot but be alarming to our moral Sense. They had besides seldom indulged, as our Theologians, in Definitions of the Nature of God, and were not exposed to the innumerable Contradictions to which such Definitions necessarily lead. Their Conceptions of God were purely Symbolical, and, being SYMBOLS, Logic had no right to draw from them a Series of perplexing Consequences. The Strength of Socrates' Argument lies in the Instances of peculiar Care which the Power which formed Mankind bestowed upon this privileged Race. The Ground of that Argument is perfectly analogous to the truly christian SYMBOL of God—a Father.

In this essential Respect our modern Arguments from Design totally differ from the ancient. Our Physico-Theologians are not satisfied with GENERAL Indications of intelligent Benevolence towards Man, on the Part of its Maker; but looking upon external Nature as an immense Workshop, they boldly break into it, to rummage in every Corner, merely in Search of what appear to them striking Proofs of the Adroitness with which the Demiurgos (the mechanic Spirit) has overcome the Resistance of his Materials.—What then is the Consequence of this narrow, one-sided View? One infinitely more injurious to our MORAL Conception of God than that which the exclusive Examination of the Dust and Rubbish in the Room where the Blocks of Marble on which Phidias was to work, received the first rough Outline, would have on the Conception of the Genius of Phidias.

Our elaborate Proofs from what we call DESIGN necessarily injure the moral Proof of the Existence of a living, fatherly God. The God revealed by animal Physiology, for Instance, is a perfect Saturn—a devourer of his own offspring. No; he is not the God after whom the human Soul longs and pants. The Laws of inanimate Matter are majestic in their Simplicity, and bring to the Mind nothing that can raise the Notion of Injustice, of Unfeelingness, of either Want of Will or Want of Power to prevent Evil. But how different are the Laws of animal Life in this Respect! Whatever Impression of CLEVERNESS and



**INVENTIVENESS** (both of which imply **DIFFICULTY**) the Organism of even the lowest Animal exhibits, the thinking Mind finds it extremely difficult to suppress its Perception of something like Blindness in the overwhelming Tendency to the Propagation and consequent Destruction of animal Life, especially in its inferior Stages.

“Professor Ehrenberg, of Berlin, (we have it in a Note to p. 61 of Mr. B.’s Work,) has discovered that the tripoli employed in that city for polishing metals, which is dug up at Bilin, in Bohemia, consists entirely of the siliceous remains of infusoria, of a species so minute, that about 41,000 millions of them weigh 220 grains, and occupy the space of a cubic inch.”

This LOOKS certainly more like a blind Impulse than Design. I say LOOKS because I do not believe in anything like **BLINDNESS** in Nature. But it is necessary to have a sure Conviction of the **INTELLIGENT** Nature of God—a Conviction arising from the moral Nature of our Minds,—in Order to be able **RATIONALLY** to lay aside the Difficulty which arises from such physical views.—It will be objected, as usual, that Man is not a fit Judge of the Plans of Omnipotence. This is the Common Method of Divines. They first call us in, as competent Judges; but as soon as our Judgment turns against them they dismiss us with sovereign Contempt. We call **DESIGN** that which, according to our Manner of viewing it, resembles the Progress of our Minds through various Steps of Knowledge towards an **END**—*i. e.* an Object previously presented by our Imagination, and fixed upon by our Will. When we see such an Adaptation, we are inclined to suppose a Being at Work, who though he must infinitely surpass us in Power and Knowledge, yet THINKS like ourselves. Deny this Similarity, and the Argument from Design disappears.—Well then; here we have found a **THINKING**, a **PLANNING** Creator. But let us proceed one step further, and we must be shocked at the Dissimilarity which manifests itself between a higher Faculty of our Souls, and that which we might expect to correspond to it in the Deity. The Works on which he seems to have employed the highest **DISCURSIVE** Faculties, appear in the external World, appointed for Waste and Destruction. The Mind is oppressed by the Attempt to conceive a Number approaching to that of these **INFUSORIA**—those, as people tell us, **EXQUISITELY CONTRIVED** living Beings—which must have been brought into existence and been devoured, or petrified, since the Creation. The whole indeed of what we call Matter, appears under such a decided, such a blind, Tendency to teem into some animal shape, that we are driven to the supposition of constant

Action, on the part of some Surprising Power that checks everything around us from bursting into Life, and crowding the Earth with Monsters.—Here we not only lose the Impression of Design, but find it difficult to turn away from the Suspicion of a blind Principle of Animalization, with which a less powerful but yet intelligent and benevolently disposed Principle has to contend. This is only a Delusion; I acknowledge that most cordially: but I must show the direct Tendency of the Argument from Organic Life. The support of that Life by its Destruction, is to us one of the most perplexing of all Phenomena in external Nature. The Evasion of that Difficulty by saying that the Creator DESIGNED the greatest possible Amount of animal Enjoyment, assumes the most definite, and, we must add, most painful shape in Chapter xiii., of Dr. Buckland's "*Geology and Mineralogy considered with reference to Natural Theology.*"

For whose Benefit is this SUM TOTAL of Enjoyment? Surely not for that of the Individuals who are taxed with Suffering, that by means of their immense Numbers, a surplus of animal Pleasure may appear in Ciphers, though it never existed Collectively. Such Fallacies upon such a Subject, are MORALLY painful to Minds deeply impressed with its sacredness. I confess that whenever the view of animal Life arises distinctly within me—when I see the universal fever of Production raging over the Globe, and find it met by the horrible phrenzy of destructive Hunger, I have to retire to the Depths of my MORAL Being, where alone I find myself soothed from the pain of that appalling scene. This is not indeed a proper place for investigating and displaying the moral Principle within us, which alone can safely lead us to a MORAL God. Every one may discover it in himself. My present object is to show that the Argument from Design not only fails of leading us to God, but, when we allow it to direct our Search, it shows us a Being whom we cannot acknowledge as infinitely GOOD.

On reading the Chapter above-mentioned, I had the strongest conviction of the degrading tendency of *pious* bribes.

It is absurd and provoking in the extreme, that men of science should be largely paid to present to the world a view of their knowledge, *biased* from beginning to end by a *given conclusion* at which they must arrive according to agreement. If such men are before-hand convinced of the truth of the *given* conclusion, they will inevitably exaggerate their conviction in the pursuit of the task. I will not touch upon the supposition of totally assumed conviction; because I respect the individuals who have been employed. But the case is possible; and the *fee* offered for the pious advocacy might certainly bring it into

existence. Now why should science be thus tampered with? Are there not bribes and terrors enough in our state of society to stop its mouth, to make it proceed timidly, to place it daily in danger of altering or suppressing facts which may excite alarm among Divines?

I have had the pleasure of Dr. Buckland's friendship, in consequence of which I have been able to add the evidence of familiar intercourse, to that which his works give before the world to his talents. Yet a more childish or rather *anile* composition than that wherein, according to his engagement, Dr. B. endeavours to show that the *Aggregate of Animal Enjoyment* (was) increased, and *that of Pain diminished, by the existence of Carnivorous Races*, it will be difficult to find among the writings of men of talent, since the art of writing began.

According to the *Divine* that so miserably sinks the Philosopher in Dr. Buckland, one great object of the God whose existence he wishes to prove by Geology and Mineralogy, is to accumulate animal enjoyment. Where this *accumulation* is to take place, the writer has not informed us. Does he consider his Geological God as a common *sensorium*? Is it he that feels the balance of enjoyment after the deduction of pain endured by individuals? I cannot believe that Dr. B. could fall into this absurdity! Where then does this *aggregate* take place? It is like the *aggregate* habit of being skinned alive, which cooks attribute to the Eels.

If the object of the Creator be an *arithmetical sum-total* of the pleasures of all living beings, the argument of Dr. Buckland is at least intelligible. It may be shortly expressed thus:—God created the herbivorous tribes, who were very happy enjoying their cooling food; and their numbers would have multiplied so as to replenish the earth, producing unquestionably a very large *sum* of enjoyment. But there is nice economy in Heaven. By creating the carnivorous tribes, to eat up the herbivorous, the *aggregate* of enjoyment would still be greater. For by giving to these voracious beings a very great delight connected with digestion, it may be demonstrated that the enjoyments of a sheep up to the time of being devoured,

*plus* the enjoyments of his devourer,

*minus* the sufferings of the devoured,

are in the aggregate greater than those of the sheep had he lived double the time, and then died a natural death.

One can hardly believe that Dr. B. was in earnest. Was he thinking of the aggregate pleasure which takes place at *Christ-Church*, and among the Heads of Houses at Oxford? In that light, the argument is triumphant. What indeed can be the



enjoyments of the innumerable birds, fishes, and quadrupeds which, in the course of centuries, have been consumed by those high contributors to the aggregate of animal pleasure, compared with the delights of their eating and digestion?

But we find another very important consideration in the case: the carnivorous animals *save* a great deal of pain to the herbivorous. This reminds me of a custom which was certainly not totally abolished in Spain a century ago. In many country villages there were women called *Despenadoras*, i. e. *those that put out of pain*, whose office was, when any one had a long agony, to approach the bed under some pretence, and dispatch him by suffocation. It seems that the Carnivorous Tribes are the *Despenadoras* of the innocent herbivorous, who would otherwise linger terribly, and make a defalcation in the *aggregate* of enjoyment. Dr. B. seems satisfied that *infinite* power could not find a readier death for his creatures. The worst of the view, however, is that it does not quite remove the difficulty. Had all the *Despenadoras* of creation (including the Oxonians, who certainly stand at the head of the class) been limited like those of Spain, to attack only the sickly, the balance of pain and pleasure would be fairer. But the worst of these *benevolent contrivances* is, that they generally attack their victims in the fulness of health and enjoyment. The *Boa Constrictor*, that amiable *reliever* of *possible* pain, will not condescend to eat any dead or dying animal. Many of the birds of prey have the same delicacy of stomach. Yet after all, the unassailable ground of Dr. B.'s argument stands untouched: the enjoyment of digestion in the *Boa* may be equal to the enjoyment of many thousands of Goats frisking free among the bushes of the mountain. The enjoyment of a *Gallinazo* of the Andes, who fastens itself on the back of a powerful Bull, and feasts on his flesh whilst the victim runs madly, but in vain, for safety, may be greater than the insipid chewing the cud of a whole herd.

These amiable relievers from pain are endowed with the most extraordinary powers of life. Eight or nine bullets shot into one of them at a small distance, seems not to inconvenience him in any considerable degree. A *Gallinazo* in this condition is represented by eye-witnesses as quite able to reduce the *aggregate* pain of the rest of the animal creation, by means of his talons and beak, and increase the *aggregate* pleasure by means of his stomach, as at any former period of his *useful* life.—Aggregate is all.

Every one has seen an unfortunate beetle in summer lying upon his back, helpless, while a thousand ants feast upon his entrails. The beetle probably suffers very much; but will not



the one thousand enjoyments of his devourers be ample enough to allow the deduction of what the beetle suffers, and leave a large surplus for the *Universal Aggregate*?

The animal creation is the most difficult portion of the Universe known to us, to be reconciled with the idea of an *omnipotent* and *benevolent* Creator. The blind hurry to produce, and the equally blind haste to devour, which the forces to whom *life* is committed, are displaying every moment before our eyes, must appal every thinking mind. Turn this awful activity into a Deity, and see the result. In drawing that result I shall follow Dr. B.'s own views. His Deity, who appears surrounded with immense obstacles, contrives, after working for ages, a globe where animal life may exist. This life appears at length in millions of millions of beings, who are distinguished from mere plants by the fact of having a *stomach*. No sooner, however, has Dr. Buckland's Deity contrived his lowest animals, than a great difficulty starts under his hand. There is no end to the multiplication of any species. The lower it stands in the animal scale, the greater its powers of reproduction. What is to be done? Dr. B. shows us the Creator employing a strange kind of wisdom. "Let us make other animals that will devour the weaker ones and keep them in check."—Had *Omnipotence* no resource more worthy of uncontrolled wisdom? Could not the laws of reproduction be so contrived as to counteract excess? Strangely perverted must that mind be in which the following paragraph can excite devotional feelings:—

"During these grand periods of lacustrine mammalia, in which but few of the present genera of terrestrial carnivora had been called into existence, the important office of controlling the excessive increase of the aquatic herbivora appears to have been consigned to the Crocodiles, whose habits fitted them, in a particular degree, for such a service. Thus, the past history of the Crocodilean tribe presents another example of the well-regulated workings of a consistent plan in the economy of animated nature, under which each individual, whilst following its own instincts and pursuing its own good, is instrumental in promoting the general welfare of the whole family of its contemporaries."—Vol. i. p. 252.

A lovely plan indeed, executed by most worthy ministers of the Crocodilean tribe! Here we have a *general* welfare, which consists in the destruction of more than the half of the *whole* family of contemporaries! But the *eaten* are devoured for their good!

"As the family of Sharks is one of the most universally diffused and most voracious among modern Fishes, so there is no period in geological history in which many of its forms did not prevail."—Vol. i. p. 286.

"The great purpose of their existence seems at all times to have been to fill the waters with the largest possible amount of animal enjoyment."—*Ibid.* p. 293.

This is rich indeed!—How could these great contributors to *aggregate* enjoyment be wanting, especially during a period when there were neither Canons, nor Prebendaries? The sequel, p. 293, is worth notice. "The common object of creation seems ever to have been, the infinite multiplication of life." And of course its infinite destruction! What an *object* to be the basis of the conception of a God worthy of the adoration of Man. Dr. B. and his brother Divines seem to forget that the enjoyment of *unconscious* unreflecting being is the lowest possible object that could be attributed to existence.

But *Carnivorous* animals reduce *aggregate* pain. The fallacy of this *aggregate* has been shown. But would it not be more worthy of *uncontrolled* benevolence, to have so contrived the laws of animal existence as to produce the extinction of each individual without pain?—Dr. Buckland, if pressed hard, would be obliged to add some *original sin* to his theory. Some *Megatherium* must have devoured some *Megamelon*, and brought on all the misery of the Pre-Adamitic world. Imperfect in a high degree must be the mental training among us, and oppressive indeed must the power of superstitious ignorance be, to allow such views as those of the established Natural Theology to range undisturbed.—If we begin our search after God in the outward world, it must end in the setting up an idol of the imagination, more or less monstrous, more or less fearful, but, in all cases, made up of contradictions. It is the *moral and rational* world within us that alone can lead us to a *moral and rational* God: and it is the constant dwelling on this internal revelation that can give us that *rational faith* which, trusting in our *immediate* knowledge of moral goodness, of truth, and love, looks unappalled upon the immense mass of evil which shows itself in the external world, and most especially in the *animal life* of which Man partakes, and meets death in confidence and hope.

Since, therefore, we must necessarily proceed from the knowledge of ourselves to that of the Deity, let us begin by the best—the superior Part of our souls, and when we shall have found in ourselves—as every human Being may do, even at an early period of development—Justice, Goodness, Truth—in two words, MORAL GOOD in opposition to MORAL EVIL, we shall easily, nay, almost *necessarily*, discover the traces of a Creator and Governor of the Universe, the infinite Source of these divine sparks within us. It is then, and only then, that we can ration-

ally set aside the perpetual *appearances* of Imperfection and Evil which disturb our religious view of the External World. It is then that the unquestionably primitive notions of Goodness and Beauty reverberate within us, like musical Sounds which meet with vibrations similar to their own. It is then that we hear clearly the sweet *whisperings* of Nature that convey to the pure and upright Heart a distinct Message of Hope and Trust from the Source of our being.

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As on the afternoon of the day when I had been hurried by fatigue and exhaustion into a *stop* rather than a true conclusion of the preceding Notes, I was deeply thinking on the *moral* proof of a moral, personal, Deity, I resolved to add here a mere Hint that those who have properly studied this matter may perceive the nature and character of my Theism. With this view I determined to mention the Point of Rest which my Mind has taken for many years past on the all-important question of a living God.

For many years, whenever I have been engaged in conversation with one or a few mentally developed Men, whose moral characters commanded my respect, and our Thoughts flowed in Language, both actively and peaceably, free from the Heat of Contention, but, on the contrary, imparting reciprocally light and completeness to the mere Sketches thrown out by each of us,—I have enjoyed a CONSCIOUS ASPECTION of the Deity, which might properly be called identical with the Consciousness of my own Existence.—The Interchange of Thought with any Man of whose Goodness I am convinced, never fails to raise this secure and placid Conviction within me.—Being, besides, very susceptible of Impressions from Beautiful or Sublime Objects, I am able to speak of such Impressions in Comparison with the one just described. All of them lead me to the divine Source of my Life; but neither Beauty nor Sublimity raise in me the Idea of Contrivance; if they did, the pure Sentiment would be destroyed. The Notion of Workmanship is too low for what I might call my Spiritual Taste. No Contrivance AS SUCH can produce Beauty, or Sublimity; those Impressions disappear as soon as you think of Adroitness and CLEVERNESS. Who that would think of the Strokes of the Hammer and the Scratching of the Chisel when looking at a Master-Work of Art, could perceive its Beauty?—I cannot look at a Flower, either in the Dawn or the Meridian of its short but lovely Life, without a deep-mixed Sentiment of Delight, of Hope, of Tranquillity, in

regard to my present and future Destinies. The Flower and every Object of pure Beauty acts upon me as a Token of Love: I cling to it more on Account of what it means than of what it is. I feel at once that as Beauty it must have been intended for me—for an intelligent Being—for Beauty is only an Impression upon such Beings: it does not exist without them. It is incorrect to say that Nature wastes a Profusion of Beauty in the Flowers of the Desert. The Beauty is not there.—But I must proceed. Such Moral Impressions from Beauty are delightful, but they are, nevertheless, much inferior in kind to that which I originally mentioned. When in Mental Communication with a virtuous and enlightened Man, my Approach to the Deity is not through a Sentiment; it is the purest Act of what is truly eternal in me—it is the Pure Activity of my Reason.

As a curious Coincidence, I wish to mention that on the very Day when I was thinking of writing this additional Note, and when what I had written against the Argument from Contrivance remained present to my Mind with great Power and Distinctness, I happened to look into the Article *HEGEL* in the *NEUES CONVERSATION LEXIKON*. The Writer of that Article, though evidently an Opponent of Hegel's System, as a whole, (in which I think I shall agree with him when I read Hegel's own statement,) gives, as it seems, a fair Outline of the Hegelian Philosophy. In that brief Account I found a Passage which I shall endeavour to render faithfully. The Expressions are evidently strained, owing to the usual Eagerness of powerful Minds that leave the beaten Path in the Pursuit of Truth; but the View which the Passage opens is in such Harmony with my own, respecting the Argument from *DESIGN*, that it gives me great Pleasure to place it here as a Conclusion to these Notes:—

“Nature in itself, in its Idea, is divine; but as we find it, its Existence does not answer to its Conception; it is rather the most unsolved of Riddles. People may, if they like, admire in it the Wisdom of God; but every inward Representation of the Mind, the most imperfect of its Images, the mere Play of its most accidental Fancy, every single Word, is a better Proof of the Being of God, than any natural Object whatever. Even when spiritual Contingency and Arbitrariness deviate into Evil, even that is something infinitely higher than the regular Course of the Stars and the inoffensiveness of a Plant.”

I must not omit another Coincidence with my Mode of viewing this highly important philosophical Point, which, not long ago, I found attested in Miss Martineau's Account of the United States. This very able female Writer mentions some Conver-



sation between herself and an American Gentleman (as I conceive, a Unitarian Minister), upon religious Matters. She once asked him what Object in the Universe conveyed to his Mind the greatest Certainty of the Existence of God. He answered, exactly as I would—the Manifestation of a good Man's Mind.

J. B. W.

July 17, 1837.

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REMEMBRANCE OF CHILDISH PLEASURES.

How sweet it is to wander in the maze  
Of past existence—'mid the golden hours  
Of Childhood's happy life—then oft, in bowers,  
In fields and woods, I passed long summer days ;  
Now basking in the sun, his noon-tide rays  
Shading with branches of pale lilac flowers  
From my closed eyes—or flinging daisy showers,  
Or fixing on the deep blue sky my gaze.  
And where the landscape that can e'er replace  
The glorious picture that did seem to dwell  
Down deep below the glassy river's face ?  
Viewed with mysterious joy—for then there fell  
No doubt upon the childish faith to chase  
The little dreamer's visionary spell !

M. H.

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S O N N E T.

(Written on an occasion of much happiness.)

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Sing on sweet Thrush ! sing thy most joyous strain—  
And thou untiring songster, from thy bed  
Of dewy grass, thy quivering pinions spread,  
Bird of the sky, pour forth thy song again.  
Sweet roses bloom, while pearly drops of rain  
Gem your unfolded buds with deeper red,  
On the soft air your richest perfume shed,  
Tempting the wild bee from the distant plain.  
Oh ! when the heart rejoices in the tide  
Of long expected bliss, at last its own,  
Pouring a sunny light on every side,  
It seeks companionship in birds and bees,  
In “ mute insensate things”—the flowers and trees,  
All that respond to joy's delicious tone.

M. H.

ART. II.—ESSAYS WRITTEN IN THE INTERVALS  
OF BUSINESS. 12mo. pp. 144. Pickering : London.

IT is a rare thing for any work on practical or theoretic morals to attract general notice in this Country. There is a vast number of religious books constantly issuing from the press, in which the subject of morals is at least included, though generally made subordinate to dogmatic positions,—but these are for the most part addressed to a very limited public, and find their readers and admirers, if such they find at all, within certain narrow ecclesiastical enclosures. The Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford publishes a work on Christian Morals which none but a Priest could write, and none but a Priest and his victims, with the exception of some unfortunate Reviewer, could be found to read. Dr. Wardlaw, one of the most reputable representatives of Orthodox Dissent, publishes a work on Christian Ethics, and commences by denying that there is in human nature any foundation for Ethics at all,—and so, at a stroke of his pen, reduces the whole of this noble subject to the *hermeneutics* of the biblical theologian, and excludes philosophy and living man from meddling in the inquiry. Can we wonder that such works find no general readers, and that every man in England collects his notions on these subjects in an empirical and hap-hazard way? Our ethical literature is confined to Sermons which are read only by some particular religious school, and which seldom present a Scientific view of any Moral question. Even our greatest writers in this range of inquiry, men who have known no theological bias, our Lockes, Reids, Stewarts, Browns, have for the most part stopped with the intellectual department of human nature, and huddled up their metaphysics with some very meagre classification and specification of Duties. The dogmatic spirit of the nation has insensibly influenced the direction of philosophical inquiry. The result, doubtless of many concurrent causes, is that it would be impossible to name any kind of publication that would excite so little interest, as the announcement of a new work on Morals.

In these circumstances we are glad to hear of any work treating of the highest interests of human nature, of the discipline of the mind, attracting any portion of the notice of practical men. We do not know what subsidiary circumstances, such as an interest or curiosity awakened on account of the reputed author, or whether any, have contributed to this result,

but we understand that the little book which stands at the head of this article, and of which we propose to give some account, has found unusual favour in the eyes of that large class of persons who have no taste for philosophical investigation, and to whom the morality of Sermons does not often prove very tempting reading. The fact of the popularity of these Essays among commercial men of the highest intelligence, and the largest Experience of actual life, shows that nothing is wanting but to touch living wants and interests, with breadth, force and truth, to win from the practical classes, not soured against such studies by a narrow or presumptuous theology, a willing attention to the highest order of thoughts *immediately* affecting character and happiness.

The Book is written in the curt, pointed, emphatic way, likely to interest practical men who wish to go straight to the matter in hand, and care little for beauties of style, especially if they occupy time. With the first sentence, you are in the heart of the subject. There is nothing of introduction, preamble, or formality of approach, but at once a plunge *in medias res*. Thus the Essay on Secresy looks as if the writer had cut off half a dozen pages of his Discourse, and commenced in the middle. "For once that Secresy is formally imposed upon you, it is implied a hundred times by the concurrent circumstances." We confess we have a strong impression that this was the actual way in which the Book was produced. There must have been considerable ground of thought gone over, a pretty long race, before the writer comes up to the point from which he takes his leap. This if he has written down, and then cut off, because though very necessary to the writer to bring him up to his subject, was not necessary for the full comprehension of the reader, it is a rare and most commendable instance of practical wisdom, a self-denial that has had its reward. There is many a long avenue, very necessary as an approach, for the house would look awkward without one, but which we should be glad, if we could, to be spared the trouble of walking over. Even the public-house that is but two steps off the highway is said to have a less chance for custom than its more convenient neighbour.

There is nothing of profound or original remark in these Essays: if there had been, they would not have obtained their popularity. They are the fruits of experience in a mind of a thoughtful, reflective, refined, and eminently moral cast. They are the products, not of a powerful intellect, but of a *ripe* one. No young man could have written them,—no aged recluse would have encountered the practical questions to which they often

furnish wise answers. They contain the wisdom of a matured mind, much practised in affairs, and endowed originally with no common measure both of intellectual strength, and moral sensibility. The style is totally without ambition, but transparent as glass. Occasionally, once or twice perhaps in the whole book, there is a borrowed image, which is not at all at home in its new place. Unfortunately we encountered one such in the opening paragraph, which raised a fear of what might come after. "It (practical wisdom) does not suffer us to waste our energies in regret. In journeying with it we go towards the sun, and the shadow of our burden falls behind us." Here, if we recollect aright, an exquisite image is spoiled by inappropriate *translation*. Again there is occasionally the common vice of moralists,—the restatement of the original truth in other words. Thus,—“Contentment abides with truth. And you will generally suffer for wishing to appear other than what you are,—whether it be richer, or greater, or more learned.” Now here there is an error, and a truism. We fear contentment does not abide with truth. All people who have no desire to misrepresent their condition are not contented. No doubt the desire to *appear* what we are not is an *additional* anxiety, over and above the discontent, and this was what the author intended to say. “You will generally suffer for wishing to appear other than what you are.” Of course, ‘*the wish* to appear other than what we are’ is discontent, and discontent is suffering,—in this case with the additional torture of false show. We must acknowledge however that it is very seldom the author drops into this feeble common place. These are small matters, whilst the good sense, the elevation of sentiment, the breadth of view, the pure feeling, the practical piety of a calm, clear mind, make the substance and essence of the book. There is no waste: few books of so small a size contain such a quantity of thought.

There are many of the Essays we would willingly transfer entire to our pages, but from so small a publication we must only select a few specimens. Here is a hint to men of business, or to young men whose destination is business, but on whom Education has not yet closed her doors.

“Fit objects to employ the intervals of life are among the greatest aids to contentment that a man can possess. The lives of many persons are an alternation of the one engrossing pursuit, and a sort of listless apathy. They are either grinding or doing nothing. Now to those who are half their life fiercely busy, the remaining half is often torpid without quiescence. A man should have some pursuits which may be always in his power, and to which he may turn gladly in his hours of recreation.



“And if the intellect requires them to be provided with perpetual objects, what must it be with the affections? Depend upon it, the most fatal idleness is that of the heart. And the man who feels weary of life may be sure that he does not love his fellow creatures as he ought.”—p. 15.

Though totally free from religious pretensions, there is a constant recognition of the loftiest sources both of motive and consolation. It is a good sign when a book of this pure, healthy, yet high and earnest tone, touches the hearts of practical men, and elevates whilst it instructs. Many of the thoughts could have been struck out neither by maturity of intellect alone, nor by religious sensibility alone,—but required for their production a combination of the two.

“I have no intention of putting forward specifics for real afflictions, or pretending to teach refined methods of avoiding grief. As long, however, as there is anything to be done in a matter, the time for grieving about it has not come. But when the subject for grief is fixed and inevitable, sorrow is to be borne like pain. It is only a paroxysm of either that can justify us in neglecting the duties which no bereavement can lessen, and which no sorrow can leave us without. And we may remember that sorrow is at once the lot, the trial, and the privilege of man.

“Most of the aids to contentment above suggested, are comparatively superficial ones; and, though they may be serviceable, there is much in human nature that they cannot touch. Even Pagans were wont to look for more potent remedies. They could not help seeking for some great idea to rest upon; something to still the throbbings of their souls; some primeval mystery which should be answerable for the miseries of life. Such was their idea of Necessity, the sources of such systems as the Stoic and the Epicurean. Christianity rests upon very different foundations. And surely a Christian’s reliance on divine goodness, and his full belief in another world, should console him under serious affliction, and bear the severer test of supporting him against that under-current of vexations which is not wanting in the smoothest life.”—p. 18.

How admirable, and admirably conveyed, is this statement of elevation of sentiment, as the one thing needful in Self-Discipline!

“Infinite toil would not enable you to sweep away a mist; but by ascending a little, you may often look over it altogether. So it is with our moral improvement: we wrestle fiercely with a vicious habit, which would have no hold upon us, if we ascended into a higher moral atmosphere.

“As I have heard suggested, it is by adding to our good purposes, and nourishing the affections which are rightly placed, that we shall best be able to combat the bad ones. By adopting such a course you will not have yielded to your enemy, but will have gone, in all humility, to form new alliances: you will then resist an evil habit with the strength which you have gained in carrying out a good one. You will find, too, that when you set your heart upon the things that are worthy of it, the small selfish ends, which used to be so dear to it, will appear almost disgusting: you will wonder that they could have had such hold upon you.

“In the same way, if you extend and deepen your sympathies, the prejudices which have hitherto clung obstinately to you will fall away: your former uncharitableness will seem absolutely distasteful: you will have brought home to it feelings and opinions with which it cannot live.”

Another example of the pure and unaffected spirit of Religion which gives a depth and elevation to these shrewd and practical pages, is found in the same Essay on Self-Discipline.

“Prayer is a constant source of invigoration to self-discipline: not the thoughtless praying, which is a thing of custom; but that which is sincere, intense, watchful. Let a man ask himself whether he really would have the thing he prays for: let him think while he is praying for a spirit of forgiveness, whether even at that moment he is disposed to give up the luxury of anger. If not, what a horrible mockery it is! To think that a man can find nothing better to do, in the presence of his Creator, than telling off so many words; alone with his God, and repeating his task like a child: longing to get rid of it, and indifferent to its meaning!”—p. 27.

The Essay on our Judgments of other Men is full of wisdom, and brotherly kindness. It rebukes, though scarce with the severity it deserves, the shocking levity with which these are formed and pronounced,—the hardness and insensibility which from the slightest presumptions will speak, as with absolute knowledge, of things most sacred to the being of another. The familiar weighing of character from the slight and transient manifestations of it commonly afforded, and for no more urgent purpose than curiosity, and the habit of talking about *persons* rather than things, is among the very worst characteristics of modern society. But let us hear our author:

“In forming these lightly, we wrong ourselves and those whom we judge. In scattering such things abroad, we endow our unjust thoughts with a life which we cannot take away, and become false witnesses to pervert the judgments of the world

in general. Who does not feel that to describe with fidelity the least portion of the entangled nature that is within him would be no easy matter? And yet the same man who feels this, and who, perhaps, would be ashamed of talking at hazard about the properties of a flower, of a weed, of some figure in geometry, will put forth his guesses about the character of his brother man, as if he had the fullest authority for all that he was saying."

Acuteness is not the predominating characteristic of these Essays. They bear the impress of a better character of thought, but occasionally there is a mingling of singular acuteness with great delicacy of observation. Two examples of this occur in the present Essay.

"We have been considering the danger of adopting current sayings about men's characters and conduct: but suppose we consider, in detail, the difficulty of forming an original opinion of these matters; especially if we have not a personal knowledge of the men of whom we speak. In the first place we seldom know with sufficient exactness the facts upon which we judge: and a little thing may make a great difference when we come to investigate motives. But the report of a transaction sometimes represents the real facts no better than the laboured variation does the simple air; which, amidst so many shakes and flourishes, might not be recognized even by the person who composed it. Then again, how can we ensure that we rightly interpret those actions which we exactly know? Perhaps one of the first motives that we look for is self-interest, when we want to explain an action: but we have scarcely ever such a knowledge of the nature and fortunes of another, as to be able to decide what is his interest, much less what it may appear to him to be: besides, a man's fancies, his envy, his wilfulness, every day interfere with, and override his interests. He will know this himself, and will often try to conceal it by *inventing motives of self-interest to account for his doing what he has a mind to do.*"—  
p. 36.

The other passage lays open the interior of many a home.

"But of all the errors in judging of others, some of the worst are made in judging of those who are nearest to us. They think that we have entirely made up our minds about them, and are apt to show us that sort of behaviour only which they know we expect. Perhaps too, they fear us, or they are convinced that we do not and cannot sympathise with them. And so we move about in a mist, and talk of phantoms as if they were living men, and think that we understand those who never interchange any discourse with us, but the talk of the market-place; or if they do, it is only as players who are playing a part, set down

in certain words, to be eked out with the stage gestures for each affection, who would deem themselves little else than mad if they were to say out to us anything of their own."

The subject of Benevolence is treated of with the earnestness of a practical man whose heart was right,—not as an affection but as a business, a pursuit of life. And this is one of the main excellences of these Essays,—they describe *effectual* feelings.

"With the most engaging objects of Benevolence around them, men consume the largest part of their existence in the acquisition of money, or of knowledge; or in sighing for the opportunities of advancement; or in doting over some unavailing sorrow. Or, as it often happens, they are outwardly engaged in slaving over the forms and follies of the world, while their minds are given up to dreams of vanity; or to long-drawn reveries, a mere indulgence of their fancy. And yet hard by them are groans, and horrors, and sufferings of all kinds, which seem to penetrate no deeper than their senses.

"Let them think what boundless occupations there are before us all! Consider the masses of human beings in our manufacturing towns and crowded cities, left to their own devices—the destitute peasantry of our sister-land—the horrors of slavery wherever it exists—the general aspect of the common people—the pervading want of education—the fallacies and falsehoods which are left, unchecked, to accomplish all the mischief that is in them—the many legal and executive reforms not likely to meet with much popular impulse, and requiring, on that account, the more diligence from those who have any insight in such matters. By employing himself upon any one of the above subjects, a man is likely to do some good. If he only ascertains what has been done, and what is doing, in any of these matters, he may be of great service. A man of real information becomes a centre of opinion, and therefore of action.

"Many a man will say, 'This is all very true: there certainly is a great deal of good to be done. Indeed one is perplexed what to choose as one's point of action; and still more how to begin upon it.' To which I would answer:—Is there no one service for the great family of man which has yet interested you? Is no work of benevolence brought near to you by the peculiar circumstances of your life? If there is; follow it at once. If not; still you must not wait for something apposite to occur. Take up any subject relating to the welfare of mankind, the first that comes to hand: read about it: think about it: trace it in the world, and see if it will not come to your heart. How listlessly the eye glances over the map of a country upon



which we have never set foot! On the other hand, with what satisfaction we contemplate the mere outline only of a land we have once travelled over! Think earnestly upon any subject, investigate it sincerely, and you are sure to love it. You will not complain again of not knowing whither to direct your attention. There have been enthusiasts about heraldry. Many have devoted themselves to chess. Is the welfare of living, thinking, suffering, eternal creatures, less interesting than 'argent' and 'azure,' or than the knight's move, and the progress of a pawn?"

There are some judicious remarks on the difficult subject of Domestic Rule. They are wise,—and it is the wisdom of a large and affectionate nature that thoroughly reverences the freedom of individual minds and hearts, and rules by engaging on its side the highest elements of character. The antagonist attitudes of domestic wills would never be called into existence, if there was but a very little understanding of the philosophy of mind, and a respect for the sincerity of thought and action. Obedience is a virtue indispensable within a family, but the responsibility of its violation for the most part rests with those who have to define its conditions and determine its extent.

"We should be always most anxious to avoid provoking the rebel spirit of the will in those who are entrusted to our guidance: we should not attempt to tie them up to their duties, like galley-slaves to their labour. We should be very careful that, in our anxiety to get the outward part of an action performed to our mind, we do not destroy that germ of spontaneousness which could alone give any significance to the action. God has allowed free will to man, for the choice of good or evil; and is it likely that it is left to us to make our fellow-creatures virtuous by word of command? We may insist upon a routine of proprieties being performed with soldier-like precision; but there is no drilling of men's hearts."—p. 53.

Again:—

"The greater quantity of truth and distinctness you can throw into your proceedings, the better. Connivance creates uncertainty, and gives an example of slyness; and very often you will find that you connive at some practice, merely because you have not made up your mind whether it is right or wrong, and you wish to spare yourself the trouble of thinking. All this is falsehood."

In the Essay on Advice there are merits of the most various kinds. Here, for instance, is a smartness and cleverness of expression which is forcible occasionally, but which the writer has too good taste to indulge in frequently, and has not per-

mitted to become a trick and mannerism, as it usually is with those who possess this peculiar talent :—

“ In general it is with advice as it is with taxation ; we can endure very little of either, if they come to us in the direct way. They must not thrust themselves upon us. We do not understand this knocking at our doors ; besides, they always choose such inconvenient times, and are for ever talking of arrears.”

Again, here is a specimen of practical wisdom :—

“ It is a maxim of prudence, that when you advise a man to do something which is for your own interest as well as for his, you should put your own motive for advising him, full in view, with all the weight that belongs to it. If you conceal the interest which you have in the matter, and he should afterwards discover it, he will be resolutely deaf even to that part of the argument which fairly does concern himself. If the lame man had endeavoured to persuade his blind friend that it was pure charity which induced him to lend the use of his eyes, you may be certain that he never would have been carried home, though it was the other’s interest to carry him.”

Again, here is a tenderness of sentiment, particularly agreeable for being found in the neighbourhood of so much shrewdness :—

“ When you have to give advice, you should never forget whom you are addressing, and what is practicable for him. You should not look about for the wisest thing which can be said, but for that which your friend has the heart to undertake, and the ability to accomplish. You must sometimes feel with him, before you can possibly think for him. There is more need of keeping this in mind, the greater you know the difference to be between your friend’s nature and your own. Your advice should not degenerate into comparisons between what would have been your conduct, and what was your friend’s. You should be able to take the matter up at the point at which it is brought to you. It is very well to go back, and to show him what might or what ought to have been done, if it throws any light upon what is to be done ; or if you have any other good purpose in such conversation. But remember that comment however judicious is not advice ; and that advice should always tend to something practicable.

“ The advice which we have been just speaking of, is of that kind which relates to points of conduct. If you want to change a man’s principles, you may have to take him out of himself, as it were ; to show him fully the intense difference between your own views and his, and to trace up that difference to its source.

Your object is not to make him do the best with what he has, but to induce him to throw something away altogether.”—p. 67.

And, lastly, here is a lofty sense of rectitude and honour, in connection with an instance of singularly accurate observation of human character:—

“In seeking for a friend to advise you, look for uprightness in him, rather than for ingenuity. It frequently happens that all you want is moral strength. You can discern consequences well enough, but cannot make up your mind to bear them. Let your Mentor also be a person of nice conscience, for such a one is less likely to fall into that error to which we are all so liable, of advising our friends to act with less forbearance, and with less generosity, than we should be inclined to show ourselves, if the case were our own. ‘If I were you,’ is a phrase often on our lips; but we take good care not to disturb our identity, not to quit the disengaged position of a by-stander. We recommend the course we might pursue if we were acting for you in your absence, but such as you never ought to undertake in your own behalf.

“Besides being careful for your own sake about the persons whom you go to for advice, you should be careful also for their’s. It is an act of selfishness unnecessarily to consult those who are likely to feel a peculiar difficulty or delicacy in being your advisers, and who, perhaps, had better not be informed at all about the matter.”—p. 70.

The same delicacy of sentiment is shown in the opening of the Essay on Secresy: “All that your friend says to you, as to his friend, is entrusted to you only. Much of what a man tells you in the hour of affliction, in sudden anger, or in any outpouring of his heart, should be sacred. In his craving for sympathy, he has spoken to you as to his own soul.”

Again:—

“That happy union of frankness and reserve which is to be desired, comes not by studying rules, either for candour or for caution. It results chiefly from an uprightness of purpose enlightened by a profound and delicate care for the feelings of others. This will go very far in teaching us what to confide, and what to conceal, in our own affairs; what to repeat, and what to suppress, in those of other people.”

And,—

“You should be careful not to entrust another unnecessarily with a secret which it may be a hard matter for him to keep, and which may expose him to somebody’s displeasure, when it is hereafter discovered that he was the object of your confi-

dence. Your desire for aid, or for sympathy, is not to be indulged by dragging other people into your misfortunes.

“There is as much responsibility in imparting your own secrets, as in keeping those of your neighbour.”

The Second Part of the Essays relates to moral questions connected with public life, and treats of the Education of a man of business; the transaction of business; the choice and management of Agents; the treatment of Suitors; interviews; Councils and Commissions; and Party Spirit. On all these points we have pregnant hints, the ripest results of practical reflection; fruits of experience grafted on wisdom. This part of the Book is aptly introduced by Bacon's statement of the *desideratum* which in some measure it aims to supply. “The wisdom touching negotiation or business hath not been hitherto collected into writing, to the great derogation of learning, and the professors of learning. For from this root springeth chiefly that note or opinion, which by us is expressed in adage, to this effect, ‘that there is no great concurrence between learning and wisdom.’ For of the three wisdoms which we have set down to pertain to civil life, for wisdom of behaviour, it is by learned men for the most part despised, as an inferior to Virtue, and an enemy to Meditation; for wisdom of government they acquit themselves well when they are called to it, but that happeneth to few; but for the *wisdom of business*, wherein man's life is most conversant, there be no books of it, except some few scattered advertisements, that have no proportion to the magnitude of this subject. For if books were written of this, as the other, I doubt not but learned men with mean experience would far excel men of long experience without learning, and outshoot them in their own bow.”

Men who look upon business merely as a means of making a livelihood, or of acquiring wealth to gratify social ambition, will scarcely be prepared for the moral accomplishments, the earnest discipline of the character which our author regards as the requisite preparation for practical life. Even his very nature, if not originally of the fittest temperament, the perfect man of business must mould to the peculiar work it has to do, and difficulties it has to meet. “Much depends upon the temperament of a man of business. It should be hopeful, that it may bear him up against the faint-heartedness, the folly, the falsehood, and the numberless discouragements which even a prosperous man will have to endure. It should also be calm; for else he may be driven wild by any great pressure of business, and lose his time and his head in rushing from one unfinished thing, to begin something else. Now this wished-for conjunc-



tion of the calm and the hopeful is very rare. It is, however, in every man's power to study well his own temperament, and to provide against the defects in it."

There is an excellent remark on the studies which form the connecting link between scholastic education and practical life. The advice is most judicious, and of the last importance to the young man who aims to make the world a school for his whole nature.

"We cannot enter here into a description of the technical studies for a man of business; but I may point out that there are works which soften the transition from the schools to the world, and which are particularly needed in a system of education, like our own, consisting of studies, for the most part remote from real life. These works are such as tend to give the student that interest in the common things about him, which he has scarcely ever been called upon to feel; they show how imagination and philosophy can be woven into practical wisdom. Such are the writings of Bacon. His lucid order, his grasp of the subject, the comprehensiveness of his views, his knowledge of mankind,—the greatest, perhaps, that has ever been distinctly given out by any uninspired man,—the practical nature of his purposes, and his respect for any thing of human interest, render Bacon's works unrivalled in their fitness to form the best men for the conduct of the highest affairs."—p. 85.

Occasionally, principles of conduct that ought to be governed by purely moral considerations are stated too much in the form of worldly wisdom. Thus, in the "Essay on the Transaction of Business," there occurs the following version of "honesty is the best policy:"—

"In your converse with the world, avoid anything like a juggling dexterity. The proper use of dexterity is to prevent your being circumvented by the cunning of others. It should not be aggressive."

Again, in a matter however where prudence may more justly be regarded as the determining principle, "the treatment of suitors," there is a coolness and caution recommended, which, however valuable as an armour of self-defence, might readily straiten the character.

"In many cases, and especially when the suit is a mere project of effrontery, it will perhaps be prudent to refuse, without entering at all upon the grounds of your refusal. In an explanation addressed to the applicant, you will be apt to omit the special reasons for your refusal, as they are likely to be such as would mortify his self-love; and so you lay yourself open to an accusation of unfairness when he finds, perhaps, that you

have selected some other person, who came as fully within the scope of your general objections as he did himself. Therefore, when you are not required, and do not like, to give special reasons, it may often be the best course simply to refuse, or to couch your refusal in impregnable generalities."

And, once more, on the delicate question of "interviews," we have the following self-regarding wisdom :—

"Interviews are to be avoided, when you have reasons which determine your mind, but which you cannot give to the other party. If you do accede to an interview, you are almost certain to be tempted into giving some reasons; and these not being the strong ones will very likely admit of a fair answer; and so, after much shuffling, you will be obliged to resort to an appearance of mere wilfulness at last."

No one can question the great wisdom, or the morality, of such hints as these; but if this was the whole wisdom of the book, it should have passed unnoticed by us. And since we have singled out these cooler and more prudential passages, we shall also quote some examples of remarkable purity of sentiment.

"A good man of business is very watchful, both over himself and others, to prevent things from being carried against his sense of right in moments of lassitude. After a matter has been much discussed, whether to the purpose or not, there comes a time when all parties are anxious that it should be settled; and there is then some danger of the handiest way of getting rid of the matter being taken for the best."

It may illustrate the *completeness* of spirit in which these Essays are written, to state that this high moral constancy is immediately followed by a notable example of caustic shrewdness.

"It is often worth while to bestow much pains in gaining over foolish people to your way of thinking; *and you should do it soon*. Your reasons will always have some weight with the wise. But if at first you omit to put your arguments before the foolish, they will form their prejudices; and a fool is often very consistent, and very fond of repetition. He will be repeating his folly in season and out of season, until, at last, it has a hearing; and it is hard if it does not sometimes chime in with external circumstances.

"A man of business should take care to consult occasionally with persons of a nature quite different from his own. To very few are given all the qualities requisite to form a good man of business. Thus a man may have the sternness and fixedness of purpose so necessary in the conduct of affairs, yet these qualities

prevent him, perhaps, from entering into the character of those about him. He is likely to want tact. He will be unprepared for the extent of versatility and vacillation in other men. But these defects and oversights might be remedied by consulting with persons whom he knows to be possessed of the qualities supplementary to his own. Men of much depth of mind can bear a great deal of counsel; for it does not easily deface their own character, nor render their purposes indistinct.”—p. 94.

But we must give two examples of elevation and tenderness of sentiment, brought into union with practical wisdom. On the Transaction of Business:—

“When you have to communicate the motives for an unfavourable decision, you will naturally study how to convey them, so as to give least pain, and to ensure least discussion. These are not unworthy objects; but they are immediate ones; and therefore likely to have their full weight with you. Beware that your anxiety to attain them does not carry you into an implied falsehood; for, to say the least of it, evil is latent in that. Each day’s converse with the world ought to confirm us in the maxim, that a bold, but not unkind sincerity, should be the groundwork of all our dealings.”

And on the Treatment of Suitors:—

“It will often be necessary to see applicants; and in this case you must bear in mind that you have not only the delusions of hope, and the misinterpretation of language to contend against, but also the imperfection of men’s memories. If possible, therefore, do not let the interview be the termination of the matter; let it lead to something in writing, so that you may have an opportunity of recording what you wished to express. Avoid a promising manner, as people will be apt to find words for it. Do not resort to evasive answers, for the purpose only of bringing the interview to a close, nor shrink from giving a distinct denial, merely because the person to whom you ought to give it is before you, and you would have to witness any pain which it might occasion. Let not that balance of justice which Corruption could not alter one hair’s breadth, be altogether disturbed by Sensibility.”

Some of the best and cleverest portions of the book are in the “Essay on the Choice and Management of Agents;” it opens with a very pithy illustration:

“The Choice of Agents is a difficult matter, but any labour you may bestow upon it is likely to be well repaid; for you have to choose persons for whose faults you are to be punished; to whom you are to be the whipping-boy.”

Every one’s experience, in a range however limited, will con-



firm the justice of the fine remark, that "The best agents are, in general, to be found amongst those persons who have a strong sense of responsibility. Under this feeling a man will be likely to grudge no pains; he will pay attention to minute things: and, what is of much importance, he will prefer being considered ever so stupid, rather than pretend to understand his orders before he does so."

The danger of clever men, not of the highest order of mind, that of meddling, and desiring to see everything done under their own hand, the defect, it is said, of one of the greatest of modern Statesmen, does not escape notice.

"Most men of vigorous minds and nice perceptions will be apt to interfere too much; but it should always be one of the chief objects of a person in authority to train up those around him to do without him. He should try to give them some self-reliance. It should be his aim to create a standard as to the way in which things are to be done—not to do them all himself. That standard is likely to be maintained for some time, in case of his absence, illness, or death; and it will be applied daily to many things that must be done without a careful inspection on his part, even when he is in full vigour."

We must give the admirable sketch of a perfect Councillor, Commissioner, or Committee-man.

"Those men are the grace and strength of Councils, who are of that healthful nature which is content to take defeat with good humour, and of that practical turn of mind which makes them set heartily to work upon plans and propositions which have been originated in opposition to their judgment; who are not anxious to shift responsibility upon others; and who do not allude to their former objections with triumph, when those objections come to be borne out by the result. In acting with such persons you are at your ease. You counsel sincerely and boldly, and not with a timorous regard to your own part in the matter.

"The men who have method, and, as it were, a judicial intellect, are most valuable councillors. Without some such in a council, a great deal of cleverness goes for nothing; as there is nobody to see what has been stated and answered, to what their deliberations tend, and what progress has been made. Such persons can gather the sense of a mixed assembly, and suggest some line of action which may honestly meet the different views of the various members. They will bring back the subject matter when it has all but floated away, while the others have been looking for a sea-weed, or throwing stones at one another upon the shore."—p. 133.



We must take but one more passage. It is from the Essay on Party Spirit :—

“ Party spirit incites people to attack with rashness, and to defend without sincerity. Violent partizans are apt to treat a political opponent in such a manner when they argue with him, as to make the question quite personal, as if he had been present, as it were, and a chief agent in all the crimes which they attribute to his party. Nor does the accused hesitate to take the matter upon himself, and in fancied self-defence, to justify things which otherwise he would not hesitate, for one moment, to condemn.

“ These evils must not be allowed to take shelter under the unfounded supposition that party dealings are different from any thing else in the world, and that they are to be governed by much looser laws than those which regulate any other human affairs. It is a very dangerous thing to acknowledge two sorts of truth, two sorts of charity.

“ Is there no harm in never looking farther than the worst motive that can possibly be imagined for the actions of our political adversaries? Are we to consider the opposite party as so many Samaritans; and is there nothing that we have ever read or heard, which should induce us to abate our Jewish antipathy to these brethren of ours, who do not worship at our temple? This is an illustration from which *political bigots* cannot escape. Even their own pretensions of being always in the right will only bring the instance more home to them. The Jews were right in the matter in dispute between them and the Samaritans, ‘ Salvation is with the Jews.’ But this is never held out to us as any justification of their behaviour.”

If these Essays could be *written* in the intervals of business, they may at least be *read* by men of business, in their intervals of leisure. A more fit book could not be mentioned to lie upon the desk of the merchant, to be glanced at as opportunity serves,—not too remote from his immediate interests to attract and fix attention, yet calculated to connect the circumstances around him with a purer and higher order of thoughts, than they would themselves excite.

### ART. III.—ON THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO GREAT BRITAIN.

THERE are certain reasons, which we shall specify, for regarding the Introduction of Christianity into Great Britain as an historical subject of peculiar interest at the present time.

The obscurity in which the early history of all nations is proverbially involved extends even to those portions of its history which may be, of themselves, of the most solemn interest. The sacred character of an event does not at all prevent its being affected by the general darkness by which it may be surrounded. When a country has emerged from barbarism, its history, whether religious or general, will partake, in its clearness, authenticity, and fulness, of that improvement which has taken place in its civilization. But in proportion as darkness hangs over its manners, customs, and information, will obscurity rest on the indigenous, and, to some extent also, the foreign history of all the events connected with it, whether sacred or general. For this reason it is, that the history of Christianity is so comparatively clear and authentic in Greece and Italy, and so obscure in Gaul and Britain. The former nations had passed out of barbarism, and were at the acme, or even beyond the acme, of their civilization, and therefore could preserve adequate and sufficiently authentic accounts of the important events occurring within their precincts; but the latter nations had no civilization and no literature at the corresponding time in their history, and therefore the memory even of the most sacred and interesting events was involved in the obscurity which rested on all the others. The truth of this general statement received long ago particular confirmation from an inquiry into the history of the introduction of Christianity into Great Britain. This important event, with the subsequent results, was found to be immersed in the same difficulties and uncertainties as surrounded the general domestic history of the nation, and only a few well-ascertained facts stood out from the mass of evidently fabulous or very dubious accounts in which these early times of our national existence were shrouded.

It was, therefore, after sufficient discussion, settled, and generally received, that whatever possibility or even probability there was, of some of the traditions respecting the introduction of Christianity being true, there was no sufficient proof of that religion having been widely received among our ancestors of this island, and permanently and generally esta-

blished among them, until the year 596, when Augustine and other Christian divines were sent on a mission, by Gregory, the Bishop of Rome, for the conversion of the island. This stood out in our history as a settled date—to be communicated as confidently even to children in their education, as the dates of the invasion of Julius Cæsar, or the conquest of William of Normandy. Recently, however, the opinion has been again disputed, and the nation has been called upon to revise the ground of its judgment. It has been asserted that there existed a regularly constituted British Church (which exists still) *previously* to the visit of Augustine; that the nation had been converted long before; and even that it was highly probable that the Apostles themselves, and especially the Apostle Paul, preached the faith to our ancestors.

Now when such opinions as these, after having lain dormant for a long time, are revived by persons of respectability and authority, many men, knowing little of the thorough sifting which they have on previous, though forgotten occasions, undergone, receive them as probable, or as absolutely true; and even those who are disinclined to admit them, are yet so surprised by the unexpected revival of views which they had deemed obsolete, that they are as much at fault as many a man would be if called upon to state why he rejected the Ptolemaic in favour of the Copernican system of the Universe.

There are two causes also which favour, and one of them accounts for, the revival of these exploded views. The first is, the ever-ready love of antiquity, so natural to the human mind. The belief that an Apostle trod our shores, and founded a Church among us, would have, we think, to every Christian mind, a certain fascination. And the nearer authentic history would bring us to such a point, if it could not bring us quite to it, the better pleased we imagine would the majority of us be. In the case of many nations, and our own among the number, as far as any belief of the kind has ever prevailed in it, the wish has been the father to the thought. The general antiquarian zeal and feeling of a people, therefore, will at all times account for the origin of such traditions, and for their occasional revival—men catching at straws, when floating in the direction of their own predilections, and only consenting to resign their hold of them when incontestibly proved to be but straws.

But the second and more powerfully accounting cause lies in the desire of a portion of our ecclesiastical community to trace the established church of this country up to an origin and foundation that shall be entirely *independent of Rome*, and if possible *itself apostolic*. From such a process, if successful, two

advantages would accrue; first, the English Church would be relieved from what used to be our glory, but is now it appears to be regarded as our shame, the charge of schism—of separation from the acknowledged Catholic Church of Europe. What man has done, man may do, and therefore if, in times gone by, a portion of the Christians of Great Britain thought it right to throw off the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, and to dissent from many of her doctrines, there can be no reason in the nature of things, why in after times another portion of British Christians should not throw off *their* authority, and dissent from *them*.

But if it can be shown that they did not owe their Christianity to Rome; that they were not converted by Rome; but constituted an independent Church, before any missionaries from Rome visited them—if it can be shown that they had even an apostolic foundation from Paul, just as much as Rome had from Peter; then it follows that they would have an ecclesiastical claim to independence from the first—they could not be said to have separated from Rome, but to have joined and symbolized with her, till they discovered that errors had crept into both communions, and determining to reform themselves, they had a perfect right to do so, whether Rome would follow their example or not. This would render the present English Church the representative (and in its own estimation, the exclusive representative) of eighteen centuries, and make the Reformation, not a rebellion against unrighteous authority from without, but an internal self-recovery,—and thus, it would be argued, the Church, being of apostolic foundation, possesses apostolic authority, and is privileged to treat those who dissent from her community, not as men claiming the Protestant privilege (as it used to be deemed) which she herself had claimed, but as schismatics, rebelling against legitimate ecclesiastical authority. The succession would not have passed through any polluted source, as it is sometimes reproached with having done; the Church of England would no longer be a Church of Parliamentary and Regal and recent foundation, but of primeval and apostolic origin, and entitled therefore to exercise the same authority over the inhabitants of Britain, as the Church of Rome over the inhabitants of Italy.

What we have now briefly mentioned is sufficient to account for the interest which now once again attaches to the question, of the time and the mode in which the Christian Religion was introduced into this country. In this interest, many will participate, not exactly on the same ground perhaps as that on which the interest of the ardent admirers of an authoritative ecclesias-



tical establishment rests, but because they will not be unwilling candidly to reconsider the basis on which the assertions of so early an introduction of our Faith are grounded, and to ward off the danger which the unhesitating reception of these assertions, with all their supposed consequences, might seem to threaten to the cause of religious liberty in this country. Not however, be it observed, that these consequences are really involved even in the admission of these facts; for though we were to find, as we should be very glad to find, as we are pleased to suppose is possible, that St. Paul himself preached Christianity in Britain, it would not in any way divert our gaze from that foundation on which Paul himself stood, of which Jesus Christ was the chief corner-stone, or take away from us the liberty wherewith Christ had made us free: nor should we be able to perceive by any process of reasoning, that because that venerable Apostle had preached within our island 1800 years ago, since which time Romans and Saxons and Danes and Normans had resided in it and altered its races, and Paganism itself been all but universal, any young gentleman in the nineteenth century could have any proof for us that St. Paul had endowed him with infallibility, or had given him or any one else transmitted authority in religious matters over his fellow-creatures. We should still maintain with as clear a persuasion as ever, that to his own master each man must stand or fall.

Though we cannot plead therefore, any more than those who take an opposite view of the matter, impartiality as to the truth or fallacy of the consequences, that are supposed to follow from the facts, we can claim impartiality as to the correctness or incorrectness of the facts themselves, since they would not involve any ecclesiastical results from which we should dissent. But if the facts be unfounded, of course the consequences, be they supposed or real, fall with them. We have examined this question, rendered intricate and perplexing by the controversies that have been waged upon it, with patient and scrutinizing care, and we hope to be able to afford a clue, which shall guide safely and honestly through this labyrinth. And first of all (omitting all allusion for the present to derived authorities) let us ask what are our real authorities on this subject? They are of three classes. First, the Sacred Scriptures; second, the early writers and historians of the Christian Church; and third, our own writers, natives, or, at least, inhabitants of the soil.

The evidence adduced from the New Testament on this subject is almost nothing, and can be soon mentioned. It is known that St. Paul intended to take a journey into *Spain*. In the epistle to the Romans, he says to them (xv. 24.), "When

soever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you, for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company." He then mentions that he is going to Jerusalem to distribute among the poor Christians there a gratuity which had been given him for that purpose by the Achaïans; and he adds, "When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into *Spain*." This is *the nearest point to Britain* that the allusions in Scripture touch—*an intended journey of St. Paul to Spain*. It is argued, that if he went so far west as Spain, he would continue his journey to Britain, and that there were eight years, from the 5th to the 13th of Nero, (for he is supposed to have suffered at Rome in the 14th year of Nero,) during which he might have so journeyed and preached. This is the nearest approximation of Scripture evidence on the subject of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, or its being so introduced by Paul; and of course we may dismiss it as amounting to nothing.

The second class of authorities is that of the early writers and historians of the Christian Church, usually called the Fathers. They are often quoted in such a manner upon this subject, as both to obscure and to exaggerate the genuine value of their testimony. Bishop Stillingfleet's Book, the *Origines Britannicæ*, is a singular instance of a learned though confused mode of reasoning on this topic, late authorities and early authorities, derived authorities and original authorities, being all thrown together, and made to support a large mass of conjectural and inferential argument.

Now the best method of seeing our way through this wood is to follow the stream of time. We have examined the first, the best, and the most ancient authority, that of the Books of the New Testament, and have found that they yield us no information on the subject. The next to them is the Epistle to the Corinthians, of Clemens Romanus, who lived in the first century; in fact, was the friend and fellow-traveller of St. Paul: he declares, "that St. Paul preached righteousness through the whole world, and in so doing went to the boundary of the West." From the circumstance of Britain having recently become known to the Romans, it is concluded that the western extremity would not be then as before, the coast of the continent of Europe, but would include even the British islands. That this is possible, no one will deny,—that it proves that because Paul preached to "the boundary of the West," (ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Δυσσεως) he preached to the Britons, is more than can be asserted.

The next notice of St. Paul's preaching in Britain is not found till about 300 years after this, and must, when traced to its foundation, rest upon the two feeble passages already adduced. It is by Jerome, who says, "that St. Paul, after his imprisonment, preached the Gospel in the western parts." And it is not till the fifth century (when of course all original and independent authority on the subject is by length of time put out of the question) that we find the very vague expressions about the *West* assuming in Theodoret this more definite shape—"that St. Paul brought salvation to the *islands that lie in the ocean*," and again,—"that St. Paul, after his release at Rome, went to Spain, and from thence carried the light of the Gospel to other nations." It requires no theological acumen to discern at once, without dwelling upon it, the value of these testimonies to the matter in hand. They are of the slightest possible description, but they exhaust ecclesiastical antiquity on the topic.

The third class of authorities are the British historians themselves. These are—Bede, a most respectable historian, though sharing in the intense credulity of his times; Gildas, who wrote a tirade against the British nation and clergy; and Nennius, whose name, however, character, and age, are very dubious. There are others, but of a later period. Now in these writers (and we speak not from second-hand knowledge, but from careful personal study of them) there is no mention whatever of any preaching of Christianity by St. Paul in Britain: on the contrary, Bede's first mention of Christianity in this country, is in these words:—"In the year of our Lord's incarnation, 156, whilst Eleutherus, a holy man, presided over the Roman Church, Lucius, king of the Britons, sent a letter to him, entreating that by his command he might be made a Christian. He soon obtained the object of his pious request, and the Britons preserved the faith, which they had received, uncorrupted and entire in peace and tranquillity until the time of the Emperor Dioclesian."

Nennius follows this account in Bede, and the supposition that Gildas speaks of, Christianity shining in Britain before this time, even in the time of Tiberius, is satisfactorily disproved by Stillingfleet himself. They say then, he it observed, nothing about St. Paul. And indeed the tradition that *any* of the Apostles preached in Great Britain is equally unsupported by the Scriptures, and by our own ancient historians. Only Eusebius, and that not till the distant time of the fourth century, makes allusion to any such idea, and he says that "some of the Apostles preached the Gospel in the British Islands." It requires indeed the exactest



scrutiny to reduce the long and laboured arguments of the asserters of such positions to their ultimate facts, which when barely stated, stripped of the ingenuity that dazzles, and the miscellaneous weight of learning that oppresses, are, in the cases before us, nothing more or less than what we have now represented them to be.

That this as well as every other country has abounded in such traditions, has been already stated. Baronius, an ecclesiastical historian of the sixteenth century, and of the Romish communion, goes as far back as is well possible, and declares that when "Lazarus, Mary, and Martha came in a ship without oars to Marseilles to preach the Gospel in Gaul, Joseph of Arimathea accompanied them, and came over into Britain." Now such traditions as these—the baseless fabrics of ecclesiastical history's vainest dreams—there is not the slightest necessity to notice, because we are already supplied with our answer to all such stories. The truth of what is not known is always best tested by the statement of *all* that is known, which is briefly this—that St. Paul in one of his epistles declares his intention of going into *Spain*—which intention we do not know whether he accomplished or not; still less do we know whether he continued his journey into Britain or not. Secondly, that Clemens Romanus, in the first century, states that Paul journeyed in his preaching to the boundary of the West, which Jerome confirms; that in the fourth century, Eusebius says that some of the Apostles preached in the British islands; and that in the fifth, the date of the first clear form of the tradition, Theodoret declares that St. Paul brought salvation to the islands that lie in the ocean. And thirdly, that our old English historians mention no such rumour of any kind. This is what we *know*. It amounts to nothing in *proving who* first preached Christianity in Britain, but it amounts to much in proving that all traditions about any specific persons whatever, must be vague and indeterminate—must be conjectural, and incapable of proof as *truths*.

Dismissing then this portion of our subject, let us proceed to inquire what we *may* affirm concerning the introduction of Christianity into this our island. First of all we may affirm, that it is *possible* that St. Paul might have first preached here, though we have not a shade of proof that he did. Some have asserted that the *Claudia* who is mentioned in St. Paul's 2nd Epistle to Timothy, was a British lady, was converted by St. Paul, and was the first that brought the Gospel to Britain. This also is *possible*, though we have not a shade of proof that it was so. Dr. Southey, in his *Book of the Church*, states it as a



probable tradition, that Christianity was first introduced into Britain by Bran, the father of Caractacus. This also is *possible*, but we have not the shade of a proof that it was so.

To the possible we can put few limits, nor are we called upon to put any. Because to grant a thing possible, does not make it probable, or credible, or true. But to ascend from the possible, whence there is little valuable fact to be obtained, to the probable. Although, as Dr. Southey most importantly admits, and in this Henry confirms him, "it cannot be now ascertained by whom the glad tidings of the Gospel were first brought into Britain,"—yet it is probable that as there was at this time a great deal of intercourse with the Romans, as legions of Roman soldiery were continually, during the first four hundred years after Christ coming into Britain, and many of the Britons on the other hand, at first as prisoners, and afterwards as ambassadors, or on matters of business or education passing over to Rome—the seeds of Christianity may have been sown in the minds of the Britons, both in their own land, by foreigners coming to them who were Christians, and in Italy, by the inhabitants who were Christians visiting them. What hinders it but that the pious Christian at Rome, bent on deeds of alms and mercy, should visit the captive in his cell, and administer to him the truths and consolations of his faith, and that it should come thus recommended by the captive personally, or by message to the captive's friends at home? And what hinders it but that when the youth of Britain visited the great Capital of the world for their education, their tender minds should receive some impressions of Christian verity through instructors, or attendants, or artificers, or domestics? Some of the more zealous Professors of the faith might even journey towards, or be tossed by the storm or the chances of life upon, that distant island, and instil their treasures into the minds of its inhabitants. Thus it is highly probable that from almost the very earliest times individuals would be in possession of this purer faith, though the bulk of the nation would still be buried in idolatry: there would be many Christians in the island, though as yet no Christian Church there.

From the possible and the probable, we may now ascend to the credible.

We are informed by Bede, and Nennius repeats it after him, "that in the year 156, Lucius king of the Britons sent to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, desiring to be made a Christian, and his request was complied with." Now though this has been disputed, and we may not therefore be able to pronounce it positively true, it is yet quite credible. For Bede, called,

from the respect in which he was universally held, Venerable Bede, though not deserving implicit credit as incapable of error, is yet a most trustworthy and respectable authority as a recorder of matters of acknowledged history. There is an earnest and truthful tone in the Preface of his Work, which bespeaks your confidence. He candidly states the sources of his information: these were the archives of Rome, examined for him by Nothelmus, whom he styles "the pious priest of the Church of London," Albinus who collected a number of facts in his own neighbourhood for him, various friends in different parts of the country, and local histories; and he concludes his list of authorities by saying, "And I humbly entreat the reader, that if he shall in this that we have written find anything not delivered according to the truth, he will not impute the same to me, who, as the true rule of history requires, have laboured sincerely to commit to writing such things as I could gather from common report, for the instruction of posterity." His history was finished A.D. 731.

The sources of his information we thus see were twofold—one consisted of documentary evidence, and the other of contemporaneous reports; this gives a twofold character to his work, the first or early part has a solid and trustworthy air and tone pervading it, the latter is so lavishly garnished with the miraculous, as to betray its origin in popular and superstitious rumour. Where he records, therefore, documentary matter he seems to be trustworthy; where he narrates merely what he picked up from his contemporaries, his history partakes of the humble and credulous character of its sources. In this respect he resembles Herodotus; he follows documentary evidence as far as it goes, and when it fails him, he tells what he hears, trusting to posterity to distinguish between what is credible in it, and what is otherwise.

Keeping this distinction in view, we take the first fact which he mentions in connection with the introduction of Christianity into Great Britain, namely, that it was in A.D. 167, at the request of one of the British kings, Lucius. Of the progress which it made, we find not one single word recorded, for no other ecclesiastical event is mentioned till more than a hundred years afterwards, in A.D. 286, when we find that the new faith must have been embraced at least by many of the inhabitants, for several are put to death in Dioclesian's persecution.

From this persecution, the historian proceeds next in ecclesiastical matters to mention the spread of Arian opinions amongst the Christians of Britain, or of what he calls the Arian heresy in the beginning of the fifth century; as also of the

opinions of Pelagius, who was a Briton, who denied the doctrine of the total depravity of human nature, maintained the entire freedom of the human will, and drew a limit to the operation of divine grace. Pelagianism, he says, was suppressed by Germanus and Lupus, Gallic bishops, sent over at the request of British Christians for the express purpose. The next event recorded is that, about 430, A. D., Palladius was sent by Celestinus, the Roman Pontiff, to the Scots that believed in Christ, to be their first Bishop. And then follows the celebrated and well-known mission of Augustine in the beginning of the seventh century. And here may be said to end that portion of the history which we have characterized as simply credible, and we enter the region of well-substantiated fact, or positive truth, though mixed indeed with much absurdity, which may, however, for the most part be easily separated from it. For this is actually all the ecclesiastical matter of importance relating to Britain recorded by Bede, or any one else in the six first centuries. It consists of king Lucius' request to be converted, of the persecution under Dioclesian, of the spread of Arianism and Pelagianism, of the mission of Palladius to the Scots. These facts, told by Bede very briefly, are *credible*; but as the history of the period had not been regularly preserved, we cannot pronounce them indisputably true.

So that, after all, the old date of 600, A. D., for the mission of Augustine, as expressing the time of the first very extensive, well-authenticated, or effective preaching of Christianity in the British Islands, is confirmed by our inquiries. From this time, and not until this time, it spread rapidly.

In what state, then, did St. Augustine find religion in Great Britain? Do we assert that he was the first Preacher of Christianity in the island? Do we assert that he first brought it to our shores, and that before his time there were no Christians in the island? By no means. We assert the contrary of all this. We maintain it to be certain that the Gospel had been received by individuals, centuries before: and that at the very time of Augustine's arrival, there existed not only Christians, but Christian Ministers, and Churches devoted to Christian worship.

What then is the exact position which we should assign to Augustine's mission; and in what state did he really find the inhabitants of this island in regard to religion? The answer to these questions is as follows: there were two races of inhabitants at this time occupying England. The one, the more ancient race, the British, the descendants of those whom Julius Cæsar found in possession of the island at his invasion. The other, the more modern, the Saxon, the descendants of those



who a century and a half before had, with Hengist and Horsa, colonized it from Germany. Now, among the older inhabitants, the Britons, Christianity had long existed and probably partially prevailed: among the more recent, and now triumphant settlers, the Saxons, it had made, there is reason to suppose, little or no progress. Augustine's mission was, then, to the *Saxons*, or newer and *English* part of the population, who were Pagans, and whom the *Britons* were reproached with not having themselves converted. The very words of Bede show this, for in recording the first step in the process of conversion, he writes thus:—

“They had, by order of the blessed Pope Gregory, taken interpreters of the nation of the *Franks*, and, sending to Ethelbert, signified that they were come from Rome, and brought a joyful message, which most undoubtedly assured all that took advantage of it everlasting joys in heaven, and a kingdom that would never end, with the living and true God. The king, having heard this, ordered them to stay in that island (Thanet), where they had landed, and that they should be furnished with all necessaries till he should consider what to do with them. For he had before heard of the Christian religion, having a Christian wife of the royal family of the Franks, called Berta; whom he had received from her parents, upon condition that she should be permitted to practise her religion with the Bishop Luidhard, who was sent with her to preserve her faith.”

The king was now converted—Augustine and his associates were settled at Canterbury—compliments, letters, and presents were exchanged between Ethelbert and the Pope, and the new religion made rapid progress in the kingdom of Kent. From the kingdom of Kent it advanced into other portions of the island, and the East Saxons, the Northumbrians, the Midland Angles, the Southern Saxons, the Mercians, were successively converted within the same century.

Of the mode and the instrumentality, indeed, by which the faith was in most of these cases introduced, it becomes us to speak with some mixture of shame. We have already seen the tone of spiritual bribery with which even Augustine addressed the king of Kent, promising him “the everlasting joys of heaven, and a kingdom that should never end,” if he would be converted. His successors descend to much more questionable modes of influence. In the employment of their means they were either deceived themselves, by their own superstitious exaggeration and interpretation of natural events; or sought to deceive others, by acting on their credulity and their fears. These accounts teach us how hard it is to introduce so pure a



religion as Christianity, *in its purity*, to barbarous minds; and explain to us how it is, that corruptions in that religion have grown up. For when the pure amalgamates with the impure, and the enlightened with the ignorant, the former are sure to suffer some alloy. Our ancestors were not really converted to Christianity. They were converted to something like it; and the process of purification has had to go on since. To those who say that Christianity is behind the age, we would recommend the attentive study of these and existing phenomena. They will find that through the whole course of Christian conversion, mankind up to the present moment have never been able to receive Christianity in its own purity, as a refined and spiritual faith. They have invariably laden it with their own error and corruption, and while from the first it always raised them above their own former level, they always pulled it down to themselves when *they* could rise no further. But the leaven is at length victorious over the lump, and this pure element, when once admitted into the body social, is continually purifying, vivifying, and refining it. *We* have a purer Christianity than our barbarous ancestors; our *descendants* will have a purer Christianity than *we*. Not, indeed, that Christianity changes—it is the same yesterday, to day, and for ever—but that our appreciation and knowledge of it change, and we change with these. At first, indeed, and still, we may pervert Christianity, but increasingly, and at last, we may hope, absolutely, it will convert us. — *South Saxons*

Without entering into the details of the successive conversions of various portions of our country during the seventh century, which do not importantly vary, we shall give one instance of the mixture of earnestness and superstition, exertion and fraud, by which many of these conversions were brought about. We may mention, first of all, the contrivance by which a relapse into idolatry was prevented among the subjects of Ethelbert and the East Saxons. On the death of Ethelbert, his son Eadbald succeeds. He throws off the faith of his father, lives in incest with his father's wife, and his subjects and their neighbours seem to be falling back into that horrible state of idolatry and depravity, from which it has ever been the glory of Christianity, in its corruptest forms, to redeem its converts. The Bishops Mellitus and Justus are compelled to leave the kingdom. Laurentius is reluctantly about to follow their example, when,—

“The night before, he ordered his bed to be laid in the Church of the Blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul; wherein having laid himself to take some rest, after he had poured out many prayers and tears to God

for the state of the Church, he fell asleep. In the dead of night, the blessed prince of the Apostles appeared to him, and scourging him a long time with apostolical severity, asked of him, ‘Why he would forsake the flock which he had committed to him, or to what shepherd he would commit Christ’s sheep, that were in the midst of wolves? Have you,’ said he, ‘forgotten my example, who for the sake of those little ones, whom Christ recommended to me in token of his affection, underwent at the hands of infidels and enemies of Christ, bonds, stripes, imprisonment, afflictions, and lastly, the death of the cross, that I might at last be crowned with him?’ Laurentius, the servant of God, being excited by these words and stripes, the very next morning repaired to the king, and taking off his garment, showed the scars of the stripes which he had received. The king astonished, asked, ‘Who had presumed to give such stripes to so great a man?’ And was much frightened when he heard that the Bishop had suffered so much at the hands of the Apostle of Christ for his salvation. Then abjuring the worship of idols, and renouncing his unlawful marriage, he embraced the faith of Christ, and being baptized, promoted the affairs of the Church to the utmost of his power.”

Sometimes the instrumentality employed was moral alarm, sometimes the exhibition of supposed miraculous knowledge or power, sometimes, as in the instance just given, probably, genuine earnestness descending to contrivance; and sometimes, as in the instance which we are now about to extract from Bede, kindness trying to be of real physical benefit to the people, united with a skilful turn of some natural phenomenon into a sign from heaven. Thus among the South Saxons:—

“Bishop Wilfrid, by preaching to them, not only delivered them from the misery of perpetual damnation, but also from an inexpressible calamity of temporal death, for no rain had fallen in that province in three years before his arrival, whereupon a dreadful famine ensued, which cruelly destroyed the people. In short, it is reported, that very often, forty or fifty men being spent with want, would go together to some precipice, or to the sea-shore, and there, hand in hand, perish by the fall, or be swallowed up by the waves. But on the very day in which the nation received the baptism of faith, there fell a soft but plentiful rain; the earth revived again, and the verdure being restored to the fields, the season was pleasant and fruitful. Thus the former superstition being rejected, and idolatry exploded, the hearts and flesh of all rejoiced in the living God, and became convinced, that he who is the true God, had, through his heavenly grace, enriched them with wealth, both temporal and spiritual. For the Bishop, when he came into the province, and found so great misery from famine, taught them to get their food by fishing; for their seas and rivers abounded in fish, but the people had no skill to take them, except eels alone. The Bishop’s men having gathered eel-nets everywhere, cast them into the sea, and by the blessing of God took three hundred fishes of several sorts, which

being divided into three parts, they gave a hundred to the poor, a hundred to those of whom they had the nets, and kept a hundred for their own use. By this benefit the Bishop gained the affections of them all, and they began more readily at his preaching to hope for heavenly goods, seeing that by his help they had received those which are temporal."

In the meantime, while these conversions were taking place among the Saxons, what became of the British Christians, and the British Churches, which we have already mentioned as existing at the time of Augustine's arrival?

Soon after his arrival, and when he had gained a sure footing for Christianity among the subjects of Ethelbert, St. Austin turned his attention to the British Christians. With them he held a conference, urging them to join him in his efforts to convert the heathen. But this meeting elicited some points of difference which seemed to the Roman Missionary, on whose mind already the idea of a strict unity of faith was impressed, of great importance. The British Christians, he found, did not keep Easter at the proper time, and, as Bede expresses it, they did several other things which were against the unity of the Church. They would not, however, give them up, and on a second conference, being, as was said, partly hurt by what they thought Augustine's proud manner of receiving them, when he said to them, "You act in many particulars contrary to our custom, or rather the custom of the Universal Church, and yet, if you will comply with me in these three points, viz., to keep Easter at the due time, to administer Baptism, by which we are again born to God, according to the custom of the Holy Apostolic Church, and jointly with us to preach the word of God to the English nation, we will readily tolerate all the other things you do, though contrary to our customs,"—their answer was, that "they would do none of those things, nor receive him as their Archbishop."

From such transactions as these the fact stands out prominently, that there was a Christian Church among the Britons, as there was also among their Northern neighbours, the Picts, though what was its constitution, how far it extended, and so on, we are as ignorant, as we have already shown we are, concerning the precise mode of its origin. All original documents are lost. Southey himself confesses, that "no records of the British Church during that age (speaking of the time that preceded Diocletian's persecution) are extant; for the existing legends of the British and Irish Saints, who are placed in those times, are as little connected with historical truth, as the stories of the Round Table." Bede had evidently, it is true, a prejudice



against the British Christians, and has preserved as little in their favour as possible, apparently disliking them as a species of obstinate dissenters from the Church which afterwards prevailed. Gildas, who is sometimes called pre-eminently the British Historian, only writes to abuse them: his work is one continued tirade, couched in denunciatory language quoted from the Scriptures against the vices of the Kings and Priests of his time.

All that we can learn therefore on the subject is from Bede, and from him we perceive that such a Church or society of Christians existed: that their customs were of a remoter antiquity: that they assimilated more to the Gallic Christians in their liturgy and customs, than to the Roman. They probably were jealous of the new missionaries who came with an ostentation, authority and dignity to which they themselves could not pretend, to convert their hated conquerors and oppressors the Saxons. But still we have every reason to suppose that they had preserved many ecclesiastical customs in a higher state of purity, and nearer to the primitive model, than those which had now begun to prevail in the Roman portion of the Church. All this we readily grant as highly probable. But the conclusions which are sometimes drawn from these premises are totally inadmissible. It is said, "So you see then, there was an old original Apostolic Episcopal Church existing in this Island from the first: the embassy from Rome in Pope Gregory's time, found it, and was only, as it were, a spiritual invasion of the country." And then by a stride in reasoning, to which the span of the Colossus of Rhodes is physically nothing, they conclude that the present Church of England, as now constituted, is the representative of that ancient Apostolic Corporation, and that it has been handed down to us in one unbroken succession from that time to this.

Now the legitimacy of such a conclusion, I think, I can refute by two or three very briefly-sustained positions. In the first place, the origin, formation and growth of this ancient British Church, we have seen, are involved in impenetrable obscurity, and the presumption of its Apostolic institution is absolutely conjectural, and possesses not, as a fact, the shadow of a proof. In the next place, had this ancient British Church *continued to exist*, there might have been some ground for tracing an exclusive spiritual descent from it, but unfortunately it very soon entirely *disappeared, and became merged in the more powerful Saxon establishment of Roman institution*. Even in Bede's time the process had begun. He declares, "At this time a great part of the Scots in Ireland, and some also of the Britons in Britain,



through the goodness of God, conformed to the proper and ecclesiastical time of keeping Easter." And Southey, hitherto regarded by many as the extreme countenancer of the dreams of unbroken succession, allows in so many words, at the end of his fourth chapter of the Book of the Church, "that although there is reason to believe that the Britons had been more connected with the Eastern than the Western Church, they *acknowledged at length the supremacy of the See of Rome, for the sake of its protection, conformed to its ceremonies, and gradually received its corruptions.*"

Now if the Britons were really in possession of any very important distinctive truths, (though the prominence of the dispute about the time of celebrating Easter as the chief point in debate between the two Churches seems to forbid the supposition that they were,) if they *were*, however, in possession of any important distinctive truths, they should have regarded themselves as possessors of heavenly treasures though in earthen vessels, and should never have consented to give them up. But the fact, that they did give them up; that they conformed to the usages and demands of the Mission from Rome, and merged their distinct society into the Anglo-Saxon establishment, which grew out of Augustine's preaching—the fact that the intercourse with Rome, and the appeal to Rome, were henceforth constant and unremitting—that fresh episcopal officers were perpetually sent over from the Pope—his sanction, his permission, his advice sought for on every emergency, (as may be seen from the time of Gregory's first long, and in many parts admirable letter in answer to Augustine's questions for his guidance, down to the time of the violent separation of this kingdom from the Papal See, in innumerable instances of indisputable authenticity), prove—whatever *rumours* there may have been of an original Apostolic foundation of Christianity in this kingdom, and whatever *certainly* there may be that Christianity did exist in it, and in some respects in a distinct and peculiar form, previously to Augustine's mission—yet these pretensions and peculiarities being merged in the results of Augustine's mission, that that mission, after all, converted the great bulk of the nation, (the whole of the Saxon population,) and that, within a century or so after, no Church could be said to exist, except what had derived its being and doctrines from Rome, and was still in communion with Rome,—prove that our Christianity, as a nation, was actually, and to all intents and purposes, *from Rome*, and that as we continued in communion with that See until the Reformation, and then broke off from it, the origin of our present Church Establishment was at that

Reformation, and was the creation of Acts of Parliament, of the Royal Will, and of Ecclesiastical Convocations. Our common Christianity, indeed, thank God, had an earlier, and purer origin—an origin to which we should more and more endeavour to trace it back. But that that form of it, in this country, which was established in the sixteenth century should have peculiar and exclusive connections with these early sources, connections from which any other Christians are debarred, is a claim, to whose unreasonableness and incorrectness, to use no stronger language, the eyes of all men, by such a review as that which we have now taken, cannot surely fail to be unclosed.

It is said, indeed, that Augustine, after success had attended his preaching, went over to the Archbishop of Arles, in Gaul, to be consecrated Archbishop, and that this shows a Gallic rather than a Roman origin, even to the Anglo-Saxon form of the establishment. But who can with reason attach much force to this circumstance, when he considers that Augustine had received his mission and authority from Rome, was in constant correspondence with the Pope, appealing to him in everything, and that his going over to Arles was evidently designed to save him from the more distant and hazardous expedition to Rome, from which he might never have returned, and during his accomplishment of which, the infant mission in this country might have suffered irreparable mischief? Besides, the authority of the Pope is repeatedly and explicitly acknowledged, and Gregory and his successors do, for the distant British Archbishops, what they can, in the matter of their consecration, for to Austin and to his successors they send the Pall, or archiepiscopal band of white woollen.

We must close with the expression of one regret, that we cannot now enter upon the enumerations of those invaluable blessings which, notwithstanding the many errors that accompanied it, the preaching of Christianity bore to this land. We heartily concur with Dr. Southey, when he says, “When we consider the real nature of every Pagan idolatry, the loathsome obscurities and revolting cruelties which are found in all, and the direct tendency of all to corrupt and harden the heart, we shall not wonder that the early Christians ascribed to them a diabolical origin, and believed the Gods of the Heathen to be not mere creatures of perverted fancy, but actual Devils,”—and with him, are delighted to believe, that even in subsequent ages “the Christian Church, however defiled, was yet the salt of the earth, the sole conservative principle by which Europe was saved, from the lowest and most brutal barbarism.”

C. W.

ART. IV.—THE FOUNTAIN AND OTHER POEMS. By  
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. New York and London: Wiley  
and Putnam, 1842.—pp. 100.

THIS little book is full of characteristic sweetness and beauty. "Is it not a little one?" We should think the most popular poet of America a very indolent one, were it not for the statement made in the diminutive preface (a preface which manifests a truly bard-like impatience of prose), that some of the poems in the volume "were merely written as parts of a longer one planned by the author, which may possibly be finished hereafter." We welcome both what we have, and what we are promised. Not a leaf will fall from Mr. Bryant's well-won and well-worn chaplet, on account of the contents of this small but precious volume. For the work to come, we take him at his word, and heartily wish we could hold him to it. The author of the *Thanatopsis*, and of the *Lines to the Water-fowl*, will be unauthorized, we think, for some years to come, to complain of any drought at the sources of his song.

The Occident (in the sense, not of Tacitus, but of Columbus) opens a vast and noble field for poetry. It does not yet seem to know its own poetical riches. It almost grieves us to see how much there is in this volume that might have appeared in any high European periodical, and carried with it no internal evidence that it was an utterance from a region in which all was strange and new. Our quarrel with the first of America's poets has this one ground—that he is not sufficiently American. We do not think that he has thrown himself, with sufficient daringness or trustingness, upon the resources of "all that tract that fronts the falling sun." They would have borne him up, we think, into more unquestioned originality and more steadfast and shadowless fame. America has produced her Wordsworth before her Shakspeare, her Spenser, or her Milton. The river, the forest, the lake, the cataract, the mountain, the savannah, the prairie, the red hunter, the hut-born Sachem, the dim Manitou, the legends, and even the silences of so many millenniums,—all these, with the events of later times, and the wonderful transmutations of a few necromantic years, yet require to be sung in freer and simpler strains, than any which have reached us from the Transatlantic shores. We trust that the last Indian forest will not fall before the axe, ere its arches shall echo to the lays of some indigenous Homer, whose sole inspirations shall be the nature around and within him; and



who, dauntlessly plunging into Truth, shall rise glowing into Fame!

Yet are we most deeply sensible of the beauty and merit of the little volume before us, as well as of the other writings of the gifted and accomplished author. He is too much a master of the lyre, not to be, when he pleases, a master of the heart: he is too much a master of the heart, not to be, when he pleases, a master of the lyre. We have referred to two of his poems, which bear, we think, the fate and stamp of immortality. They will embalm the language, while it lives, and be embalmed in it when it is a *living* language no more. Taking a leap into the future, we can imagine it no unattractive task to comment upon the beauties and truths of these and other kindred compositions, to open their reaches of thought and to clear up their mysteries of wisdom. In such employments we envy the commentators of posterity. But our envy is not of such a kind or degree as to interfere with our enjoyment of the works themselves in all their living freshness. We could say more than we have said of the pleasure which we have derived from the contents of this little volume. There is, we conceive, no poem in it, which is equal, as a whole, to either of the two we have mentioned: but there are passages sprinkled over it, which thrillingly remind us of their common emanation from the same rich and refined imagination. The calm of beauty is broken by dashes of power, which indicate the same general habit of mind, with the same slumbering energies breaking forth, as if automatically, into starts and fragments of lofty action. The poetry of Bryant is a gentle and musical stream, which is broken, every here and there, by some deep and rushing fall; but the sound of the transient waterfall soon dies upon the ear, and again return those habitual and delightful murmurs, whose sweetness fills the heart to the very verge of satiety.

With an earnest wish to see this volume also naturalized in *eastern* England, we shall give a few extracts—not scanty for the size of the book—which may be trusted to plead their own cause with that part of the reading public which takes cognizance of matters poetical. Our first extract is taken from “The Fountain,” the leading poem in the volume. It gives a striking contrast of the distant with the recent past:—

“ But thou hast histories that stir the heart  
With deeper feeling; while I look on thee  
They rise before me. I behold the scene  
Hoary again with forests; I behold  
The Indian warrior, whom a hand unseen



Has smitten with his death-wound in the woods,  
Creep slowly to thy well-known rivulet,  
And slake his death-thirst. Hark, that quick fierce cry  
That rends the utter silence; 'tis the whoop  
Of battle, and a throng of savage men  
With naked arms, and faces stained like blood,  
Fill the green wilderness; the long bare arms  
Are heaved aloft, bows twang and arrows stream;  
Each makes a tree his shield, and every tree  
Sends forth its arrow. Fierce the fight and short,  
As is the whirlwind. Soon the conquerors  
And conquered vanish, and the dead remain  
Gashed horribly with tomahawks. The woods  
Are still again, the frightened bird comes back  
And plumes her wings; but thy sweet waters run  
Crimson with blood. Then, as the sun goes down,  
Amid the deepening twilight I descry  
Figures of men that crouch and creep unheard,  
And bear away the dead. The next day's shower  
Shall wash the tokens of the fight away.  
I look again—a hunter's lodge is built,  
With poles and boughs, beside thy crystal well,  
While the meek autumn stains the woods with gold,  
And sheds his golden sunshine. To the door  
The red man slowly drags the enormous bear,  
Slain in the chestnut thicket, or flings down  
The deer from his strong shoulders. Shaggy fells  
Of wolf and cougar hang upon the walls,  
And loud the black-eyed Indian maidens laugh,  
That gather, from the rustling heaps of leaves,  
The Hickory's white nuts, and the dark fruit  
That falls from the gray butternut's long boughs.  
So centuries passed by, and still the woods  
Blossomed in spring, and reddened when the year  
Grew chill, and glistened in the frozen rains  
Of winter, till the white man swung the axe  
Beside thee—signal of a mighty change.  
Then all around was heard the crash of trees,  
Trembling awhile and rushing to the ground,  
The low of ox, and shouts of men who fired  
The brushwood, or who tore the earth with ploughs.  
The grain sprang thick and tall, and hid in green  
The blackened hill side; ranks of spiky maize  
Rose like a host embattled; the buckwheat  
Whitened broad acres, sweetening with its flowers  
The August wind. White cottages were seen  
With rose-trees at the windows; barns from which  
Swelled loud and shrill the cry of chanticler;  
Pastures where rolled and neighed the lordly horse,  
And white flocks browsed and bleated. A rich turf

Of grasses brought from far o'ercrept thy bank,  
 Spotted with the white clover. Blue-eyed girls  
 Brought pails, and dipped them in thy crystal pool;  
 And children, ruddy cheeked and flaxen-haired,  
 Gathered the glistening cowslip from thy edge."

The tone of Mr. Bryant's poetry is always more contemplative than impassioned. The loftiest subject of contemplation, that of the DEITY, is touched upon, in various passages, with great solemnity and impressiveness; and, indeed, the devotional element is obviously a primary one in the poet's own character. In the poem called "Life," we have the following verses, which may be taken as a key to much that he has written, here and elsewhere:—

" Well, I have had my turn, have been  
 Raised from the darkness of the clod,  
 And for a glorious moment seen  
 The brightness of the skirts of God :  
 " And knew the light within my breast,  
 Though wavering oftentimes and dim,  
 The power, the will, that never rest,  
 And cannot die, were all from him."

The quiet and thoughtful beauty of the following lines will be felt by all who can feel. It is the commencement of "An Evening Reverie," itself a portion of the same unfinished poem with "The Fountain:"—

" The summer day is closed—the sun is set :  
 Well they have done their office, those bright hours,  
 The latest of whose train goes softly out  
 In the red West. The green blade of the ground  
 Has risen, and herds have cropped it; the young twig  
 Has spread its plaited tissues to the sun;  
 Flowers of the garden and the waste have blown  
 And withered; seeds have fallen upon the soil,  
 From bursting cells, and in their graves await  
 Their resurrection. Insects from the pools  
 Have filled the air awhile with humming wings,  
 That now are still for ever; painted moths  
 Have wandered the blue sky, and died again.  
 The mother-bird hath broken, for her brood,  
 Their prison shell, or shoved them from the nest,  
 Plumed for their earliest flight. In bright alcoves,  
 In woodland cottages with barky walls,  
 In noisome cells of the tumultuous town,  
 Mothers have clasped with joy the new-born babe.  
 Graves by the lonely forest, by the shore

Of rivers and of ocean, by the ways  
Of the thronged city, have been hollowed out  
And filled, and closed. This day hath parted friends  
That ne'er before were parted; it hath knit  
New friendships; it hath seen the maiden plight  
Her faith, and trust her peace to him who long  
Had wooed; and it hath heard, from lips which late  
Were eloquent of love, the first harsh word,  
That told the wedded one her peace was flown.  
Farewell to the sweet sunshine. One glad day  
Is added now to Childhood's merry days,  
And one calm day to those of quiet age.  
Still the fleet hours run on; and as I lean,  
Amid the thickening darkness, lamps are lit,  
By those who watch the dead, and those who twine  
Flowers for the bride. The mother from the eyes  
Of her sick infant shades the painful light,  
And sadly listens to his quick-drawn breath."

The "Old Man's Counsel" is Wordsworth "stepping westward." It is quite a counterpart to "The Leech-gatherer on the lonely Moor." Lines such as these may do us good to the last:—

"Wisely, my son, while yet thy days are long,  
And this fair change of seasons passes slow,  
Gather and treasure up the good they yield—  
All that they teach of virtue, of pure thoughts  
And kind affections, reverence for thy God  
And for thy brethren; so when thou shalt come  
Into these barren years, thou may'st not bring  
A mind unfurnished and a withered heart."

Reader, hast thou a heart in thy bosom? Judge whether it be withered or not, by what thou feelest over these simple and pathetic verses. They are headed "The Future Life;" and might certainly contribute something to make the best of us more meet for it:—

#### "THE FUTURE LIFE.

"How shall I know thee in the sphere which keeps  
The disembodied spirits of the dead,  
When all of thee that time could wither sleeps  
And perishes among the dust we tread?  
For I shall feel the sting of ceaseless pain  
If there I meet thy gentle presence not;  
Nor hear the voice I love, nor read again  
In thy serenest eyes the tender thought.

“ Will not thy own meek heart demand me there ;  
 That heart whose fondest throbs to me were given ?  
 My name on earth was ever in thy prayer,  
 Shall it be banished from thy tongue in heaven ?

“ In meadows fanned by heaven’s life-breathing wind,  
 In the resplendence of that glorious sphere,  
 And larger movements of the unfettered mind,  
 Will thou forget the love that joined us here ?

“ The love that lived through all the stormy past,  
 And meekly with my harsher nature bore,  
 And deeper grew, and tenderer to the last,  
 Shall it expire with life, and be no more ?

“ A happier lot than mine, and larger light,  
 Await thee there ; for thou hast bowed thy will  
 In cheerful homage to the rule of right,  
 And lovest all, and renderest good for ill.

“ For me, the sordid cares in which I dwell,  
 Shrink and consume the heart, as heat the scroll ;  
 And wrath hath left its scar—that fire of hell  
 Has left its frightful scar upon my soul.

“ Yet, though thou wear’st the glory of the sky,  
 Wilt thou not keep the same beloved name,  
 The same fair thoughtful brow, and gentle eye,  
 Lovelier in heaven’s sweet climate, yet the same ?

“ Shalt thou not teach me, in that calmer home,  
 The wisdom that I learned so ill in this—  
 The wisdom which is love—till I become  
 Thy fit companion in that land of bliss ?”

Our closing extract shall be from the poem called “ *The Winds.*” The stanza is an unusual, and to us not an agreeable one ; but the thoughts are great, and the expression of them vigorous and majestic.

“ Ye dart upon the deep, and straight is heard  
 A wilder roar, and men grow pale, and pray ;  
 Ye fling its floods around you, as a bird  
 Flings o’er his shivering plumes the fountain’s spray ;  
 See ! to the breaking mast the sailor clings ;  
 Ye scoop the ocean to its briny springs,  
 And take the mountain billow on your wings,  
 And pile the wreck of navies round the bay.



“Why rage ye thus?—no strife for liberty  
Has made you mad; no tyrant, strong through fear,  
Has chained your pinions till ye wrenched them free,  
And rushed into the unmeasured atmosphere:  
For ye were born in freedom where ye blow;  
Free o’er the mighty deep to come and go;  
Earth’s solemn woods were yours, her wastes of snow,  
Her isles where summer blossoms all the year.

“O ye wild winds! A mightier Power than yours  
In chains upon the shore of Europe lies;  
The sceptred throng, whose fetters he endures,  
Watch his mute throes with terror in their eyes:  
And armed warriors all around him stand,  
And, as he struggles, tighten every band,  
And lift the heavy spear, with threatening hand,  
To pierce the victim, should he strive to rise.

“Yet oh, when that wronged Spirit of our race  
Shall break, as soon he must, his long-worn chains,  
And leap in freedom from his prison-place,  
Lord of his ancient hills and fruitful plains,  
Let him not rise, like these mad winds of air,  
To waste the loveliness that time could spare,  
To fill the earth with woe, and blot her fair,  
Unconscious breast with blood from human veins.

“But may he like the Spring-time come abroad,  
Who crumbles winter’s gyves with gentle might,  
When in the genial breeze, the breath of God,  
Come spouting up the unsealed springs to light;  
Flowers start from their dark prisons at his feet,  
The woods, long dumb, awake to hymnings sweet,  
And morn and eve, whose glimmerings almost meet,  
Crowd back to narrow bounds the ancient night.”

We need not say how profoundly we respond to the sentiment embodied in the two last stanzas. Force, we believe, can only make premature revolutions. Opinion only can make them in the fulness and perfectness of time. Changes from the Outward to the Inward are always superficial and unsatisfactory: Changes, yet to be effected by the Inward upon the Outward, are the true hopes of Man—in name only, forlorn; in reality, invincible and divine.

J. J.

## ART. V.—CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

IN our Number for July, we gave an account of the state of what we called one of the "best of our old prisons," and we showed how totally inadequate such a prison was to the true end of punishment, the reformation of the offender. We at the same time contrasted the financial and the moral results of that receptacle, and various other receptacles, both in England and on the Continent, for the punishment and reformation of offenders. At that time we had access to comparatively small means of judging how far the details we then possessed would hold good, when tested by an analysis of a much more numerous class of offenders; we have now however before us, a careful analysis of the results of our present system of penal discipline, which not only fully sustains all that we formerly advanced, but also gives additional evidence that we are not diminishing, but rather increasing crime, by the course which we are now holding on this most important subject. The progress of all reforms is slow, and the advocates for any system which will prevent misery and wrong, but which at the same time demands serious thought, accurate investigation, and considerable change in all our habits and feelings with regard to the criminal population, must be content to wait patiently for the accomplishment of their views; hopefully casting their bread upon the waters, and seizing every fair opportunity of bringing before the public all the evidence which can be adduced on behalf of the salutary change which they desire to effect. Public men are for the most part too deeply embarked in the struggles of party, or in the investigation of more agreeable and inviting subjects, to give their time and attention to the painful details of misfortune or of crime. This subject, however, cannot be much longer postponed. The criminal population is increasing, the cost of it will soon be seriously felt, and a full inquiry must be made, if not into the causes of, at least into the most likely cure for, the monstrous evil which oppresses us with a force hitherto unknown at any period in our history.

We are persuaded, when this inquiry shall have taken place, that we shall begin a new career, and build Reformatories as well as Prisons.

The most urgent want felt by every magistrate in our crowded towns, where the temptations to crime, whether arising from the exposure of valuable property, or from the privations of a large portion of the people is greater than elsewhere, is an institution where, for a first offence, a juvenile offender may be

placed under the care of moral teachers, beyond the possibility of contamination from hardened and desperate criminals. To send a boy to one of our crowded prisons, is to run great risk of making him a confirmed criminal. Far better would it be to remove him at once, whilst he has a full sense of shame and sorrow, to the care of strict and sensible teachers, as at Horn and Mettray, who would keep a moral sense awake within him, and restore him, reformed to society, not only in a shorter time, but at a much less expense, than by confining him in a gaol. However, we are not at present disposed to enter more fully upon the abstract question. We have a volume of evidence, in a very small compass, lying before us, which we trust those of our readers who have examined our former articles on this subject will peruse with attention. They will see how strongly this analysis confirms the views we have already given, and how many serious additional subjects for reflection it suggests. Many of them we shall probably recur to in a future paper; all of them are of the deepest importance.

The following paper contains an analysis of very elaborate Tables of Criminal Statistics for the year ending September 1842. These tables are now before us, and we have reluctantly abandoned the idea of printing them herewith;—they are among the most complete and satisfactory records we have ever seen on this subject, and they do infinite credit to the talent, the zeal, and the industry of Mr. Highton, the Governor of the Liverpool Borough Gaol, by whom they have been compiled. No more valuable material for thought or for legislation can be furnished, and it would be well if every man charged with a like establishment would give us such a return as this which Mr. Highton has so judiciously prepared. Such documents enable us, better than any thing else, to form an exact estimate of the working of our present system. From these facts there is no shrinking: they prove, beyond doubt, that we are persevering in a system, as far as juvenile offenders are concerned, detrimental to the morals of the people, and at a cost far beyond any estimate that can be formed of a wiser, a more humane, and Christian course.

The first table compiled by Mr. Highton has reference to the habits and characters of the prisoners committed to take their trials for felonies during the year 1842. It has, says he, been compiled from a detailed account of each individual, taken from their own statements, verified by inquiries from their Visitors, and when it was possible, from other sources. In all cases where there was doubt, where probability was opposed to

the statements made by prisoners, and where no means existed of testing their statements by other inquiries, they are entered under the general heads, to which these doubtful statements referred, as "not known," or "not ascertained." Under this head are also included any particulars which, owing to the shortness of imprisonment, previous to trial, or other causes, could not be correctly ascertained.

The number of prisoners included in the return is 580, of whom there were, Adults, or individuals of 16 years of age and upwards, 327 males, and 180 females;—Juveniles, or those who are under 16 years of age, 46 males, and 21 females. Of the males, 145 Adults, 31 Juveniles; of the females, 107 Adults, and 13 Juveniles, had been previously in prison.

Of those who had been previously committed, the numbers who had been in prison 4 times and upwards, were as follows: viz.

|           |            |              |    |
|-----------|------------|--------------|----|
| Males ;   | 64 Adults, | 18 Juveniles | 82 |
| Females ; | 53 Adults, | 6 Juveniles  | 59 |

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Total, 141

Their previous offences were of various characters, embracing all descriptions of crime, which form the criteria for the legal classification of prisoners; thus, of 1374 offences, for which they had been previously committed, 149 were felonies; 22 misdemeanors, convicted at Sessions; 730 vagrants and reputed thieves; 34 Dock convictions, and illegally pawning; 66 assaults and malicious damage; 78 drunkenness; 280 common prostitutes; and 15 other convictions.

The following is a summary of their ages :

|         | 10 and<br>under<br>12. | 12 and<br>under<br>14. | 14 and<br>under<br>16. | 16. | Total. | 17 and<br>under<br>20. | 20 and<br>under<br>25. | 25 and<br>under<br>30. | 30 and<br>up-<br>wards. | Total. | General<br>Total. |
|---------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----|--------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------|-------------------|
| Males . | 2                      | 6                      | 17                     | 21  | 46     | 66                     | 106                    | 54                     | 101                     | 327    | 373               |
| Females | 4                      | 5                      | 6                      | 6   | 21     | 34                     | 70                     | 35                     | 47                      | 186    | 207               |
| Total   | 6                      | 11                     | 23                     | 27  | 67     | 100                    | 176                    | 89                     | 148                     | 513    | 580               |

It will be seen from the return, that the proportion of male Juveniles, and of Adults under 25 years of age, increases with the number of previous convictions, but in a much greater ratio. Of 197 males, who had not been previously in prison, 89 were under 25 years of age, and 110 were 25 and upwards; whilst, of 82 who had been in prison 4 times and more, 67 were under 25 years of age, and 13 only, 25 and upwards.



The centesimal proportions of individuals under 25 years of age, were as follows:—of those who had not been previously in prison, 45 :—of those who had been committed four times and more, 82.

The foregoing remarks are applicable, though in a modified degree, to the females:—the centesimal proportions of females, under 25 years of age, having been—of those who had not been previously in prison, 55 ; of those who had been committed four times and more, 68.

Other divisions in the Table refer to their places of birth, and the periods they had resided in Liverpool, &c. It is shown that, of the whole number, 248 were born in Liverpool, and 42 in Lancashire ; 77 were born in other parts of England ; 23 in Wales ; 24 in Scotland ; 159 in Ireland ; and 7 in foreign parts.

The centesimal proportions were as follows:—

|                                                                  |           | Liver-<br>pool. | Lanca-<br>shire. | Other<br>English<br>Counties. | Wales. | Scot-<br>land | Ireland | Foreign<br>Parts. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------------------|--------|---------------|---------|-------------------|
| Males                                                            | Adults .  | 44              | 10               | 14                            | 5      | 3             | 23      | 1                 |
|                                                                  | Juveniles | 59              | 4                | 15                            | —      | —             | 20      | 2                 |
| Females                                                          | Adults .  | 34              | 4                | 12                            | 3      | 7             | 39      | 1                 |
|                                                                  | Juveniles | 67              | —                | 9                             | 5      | 9             | 10      | —                 |
| Of those who had not<br>been in prison pre-<br>viously . . . . . |           | 35              | 9                | 14                            | 6      | 5             | 30      | 1                 |
| Of those who had been<br>committed 4 times<br>and more . . . . . |           | 53              | 6                | 8                             | 2      | 3             | 27      | 1                 |

The trades and occupations of the prisoners are exhibited in other divisions, showing the trades which they professed, and how they were actually employed when taken into custody. Of 207 females, the number not ascertained to have followed any occupation is shown to have been, Adults 98 ; Juveniles 4.

The number in regular employment when taken into custody, was, males 136, females 23 ;—casually employed, under which head is included Dock labourers, porters, and other desultory occupations, many of whom, no doubt, worked, and stole as occasion served,—there were, 130 males, and 30 females. The number ascertained not to have been following any lawful occupation when apprehended, was, males 35, females 59.

The degree of education which they had received was indicated by their attainments in reading and writing. It appears that of the Males, 90 Adults and 18 Juveniles could neither read nor write ; 19 Adults and 6 Juveniles could read only ; 197

Adults and 22 Juveniles could read and write imperfectly; and 21 Adults could write in a superior manner.

Of the females, 73 Adults and 10 Juveniles could neither read nor write; 61 Adults and 7 Juveniles could read only; 44 Adults and 4 Juveniles could read and write imperfectly; and 8 Adults could write in a superior manner.\*

The character of the prisoners and their connections stands thus:—

Of the Males, 17 were known to have previously borne reputable characters; 88 were known habitual thieves, of whom 68 had been committed four times and oftener; 88 were known or suspected to be the associates of thieves.

The characters of the remaining 180 could not be satisfactorily ascertained.

Of the Females, 9 had been previously respectable, 68 were known habitual thieves, 34 known or suspected to be the companions of thieves, and 96 whose characters had not been satisfactorily ascertained.

As in the males, the great proportion of habitual thieves will be found amongst those, who had been in prison 4 times and oftener; 46 of the 68 habitual thieves having been of that class.

The characters of their connections, it will be seen from the table, bore a close analogy to that of the prisoners themselves.

From a tabular view of the sentences passed upon the prisoners at their trials, it appears that 152 were sentenced to be transported; 344 sentenced to imprisonment for various terms; 41 were acquitted by the Jury; and, in 46 cases, there were no prosecutions, or the Bills were ignored.

The following is a summary of their sentences:—

|                        | Transported. |           |        |          |           |        |                | Imprisoned. |           |        |          |           |        |                |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------|--------|----------|-----------|--------|----------------|-------------|-----------|--------|----------|-----------|--------|----------------|
|                        | Males.       |           |        | Females. |           |        | General Total. | Males.      |           |        | Females. |           |        | General Total. |
|                        | Adults.      | Juveniles | Total. | Adults.  | Juveniles | Total. |                | Adults.     | Juveniles | Total. | Adults.  | Juveniles | Total. |                |
| Never in prison before | 20           | 4         | 24     | 1        | —         | 1      | 25             | 125         | 11        | 136    | 66       | 7         | 73     | 209            |
| Once previously . .    | 12           | 2         | 14     | 6        | —         | 6      | 20             | 36          | 1         | 37     | 15       | 2         | 17     | 54             |
| Twice do. . .          | 7            | —         | 7      | 1        | —         | 1      | 8              | 10          | 2         | 12     | 6        | —         | 6      | 18             |
| Thrice do. . .         | 4            | 3         | 7      | 2        | 2         | 4      | 11             | 7           | 5         | 12     | 8        | 2         | 10     | 22             |
| Four times & oftener   | 44           | 12        | 56     | 28       | 4         | 32     | 88             | 13          | 6         | 19     | 20       | 2         | 22     | 41             |
|                        | 87           | 21        | 108    | 38       | 6         | 44     | 152            | 191         | 25        | 216    | 115      | 13        | 128    | 344            |

\* Under the head, "read and write imperfectly," are included the various degrees of attainment in that art, from those who could write a fair and legible hand, but could not be classed as superior writers, to those whose abilities were of the humblest description.

The total number of criminal prisoners, for all offences, exclusive of Deserters, committed to the prison during the year, was 4,560;—they will be found, classified, according to sex, age, and previous offences, in the following table:—

|                        | Males.  |           |        | Females. |           |        | General<br>Total. |
|------------------------|---------|-----------|--------|----------|-----------|--------|-------------------|
|                        | Adults. | Juveniles | Total. | Adults   | Juveniles | Total. |                   |
| Never in prison before | 2,052   | 134       | 2,186  | 933      | 34        | 967    | 3,153             |
| Once previously . .    | 296     | 13        | 309    | 251      | 9         | 260    | 569               |
| Twice do. . . .        | 124     | 7         | 131    | 144      | 7         | 151    | 282               |
| Thrice do. . . .       | 50      | 6         | 56     | 78       | 6         | 84     | 140               |
| Four times do. . .     | 32      | 4         | 36     | 66       | 6         | 72     | 108               |
| Five and under ten     | 67      | 8         | 75     | 131      | 5         | 136    | 211               |
| Ten and under twenty   | 15      | 3         | 18     | 53       | —         | 53     | 71                |
| Twenty and upwards     | 3       | —         | 3      | 22       | 1         | 23     | 26                |
|                        | 2,639   | 175       | 2,814  | 1,678    | 68        | 1,746  | 4,560             |

Of the females who had been in prison 20 times and upwards, 2 had been committed upwards of 50 times.

During the last 2 years, 3 of this class of prisoners had been in prison as follows:—

No. 1—1841, 9 times committed and 255 days in prison.

1842, 4 „ „ and 212 „ „

—  
Total in 2 years 13 „ „ and 467 „ „

No. 2—1841, 7 times committed and 182 days in prison.

1842, 10 „ „ and 255 „ „

—  
Total in 2 years 17 „ „ and 437 „ „

No. 3—1841, 18 times committed and 283 days in prison.

1842, 7 „ „ and 156 „ „

—  
Total in 2 years 25 „ „ and 439 „ „

The number of criminal prisoners committed during the nine months from January 1 to September 30, 1842, was 3,526, exclusive of deserters.

Of this number, 2,838 had been in prison during the year, *once*; 407, *twice*; 153, *thrice*; 71, *four times*; and 57, had been in prison *five times* and upwards during the year.

Their places of birth are as follows :—

| Males |     | Females |              |                |                                   |    |   |   | Males | Fem. |
|-------|-----|---------|--------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|----|---|---|-------|------|
| 800   | and | 484     | were born in | Liverpool,     | giving a centesimal proportion of | 37 |   |   | 35    |      |
| 148   | "   | 92      | "            | Lancashire     | " " " " " "                       | 7  |   |   | 7     |      |
| 276   | "   | 218     | "            | Other parts of | England                           | "  | " | " | 12½   | 16   |
| 78    | "   | 67      | "            | Natives of     | Wales                             | "  | " | " | 4     | 5    |
| 102   | "   | 28      | "            | Scotland       | " " " " " "                       | 5  |   |   | 2     |      |
| 624   | "   | 460     | "            | Ireland        | " " " " " "                       | 29 |   |   | 33½   |      |
| 128   | "   | 21      | "            | Foreigners     | " " " " " "                       | 5½ |   |   | 1½    |      |

Of those who were not natives of Liverpool, 557 had been in Liverpool for periods under a year; 442, from one to five years; and 1,243, for longer periods.

There were 801, who came with parents or relatives; 972, to seek employment; 265, for other purposes; and 204, in vessels from various places.

It appears that 1,256 males and 239 females were in regular employment at the time of their apprehension, and 830 males and 188 females were in the habit of getting casual employment; of which number, as has been already stated, a large proportion may be presumed to have led a vagrant life, ostensibly following some occupation and stealing as opportunities served; 83, were living at home with their parents; 294, were married women living with their husbands; 70, were paupers in the workhouse; and 566, were not following any lawful occupation.

Of 888, who professed to follow legitimate occupations, but, who were not in actual employment at the time of their apprehension, 146 had been out of employment, under a week; 291 a week, and under 1 month; 194, 1 month, and under 3 months; and 257, 3 months, and upwards.

The average earnings, for the 12 months preceding their apprehension, of those, who were employed, or, who had not left their employment more than one month, when taken into custody were, per week, as follows: viz.—



|                    | Males.  |                        |            |                        |        | Females. |                        |            |                        |        | Total of both Sexes. | Centesimal Proportion. |
|--------------------|---------|------------------------|------------|------------------------|--------|----------|------------------------|------------|------------------------|--------|----------------------|------------------------|
|                    | Adults. | Centesimal Proportion. | Juveniles. | Centesimal Proportion. | Total. | Adults.  | Centesimal Proportion. | Juveniles. | Centesimal Proportion. | Total. |                      |                        |
| Under 5s. . . . .  | 42      | 3                      | 40         | 62                     | 82     | 196      | 54                     | 15         | 100                    | 211    | 293                  | 15                     |
| 5s. and under 10s. | 268     | 18                     | 24         | 37                     | 292    | 126      | 35                     | —          | —                      | 126    | 418                  | 22                     |
| 10s. do. 15s.      | 524     | 35                     | 1          | 1                      | 525    | 30       | 8                      | —          | —                      | 30     | 555                  | 29                     |
| 15s. do. 20s.      | 367     | 24                     | —          | —                      | 367    | 3        | 1                      | —          | —                      | 3      | 370                  | 19                     |
| 20s. do. 30s.      | 236     | 16                     | —          | —                      | 236    | 4        | 1                      | —          | —                      | 4      | 240                  | 12                     |
| 30s. and upwards.  | 58      | 4                      | —          | —                      | 58     | 3        | 1                      | —          | —                      | 3      | 61                   | 3                      |
|                    | 1495    |                        | 65         |                        | 1560   | 362      |                        | 15         |                        | 377    | 1937                 |                        |

The number of married men was 825, of whom 224 had no families; 169 had 1 child each; 166 had 2 children each; 121, 3 children each; and 145, 4 children or more each.

The number of married women whose husbands were living, was 468; the number of widows 191; making the total number of married women 679;—of these numbers, 210 had no families; 180 had 1 child each; 109, 2 children each; 67, 3 children each; and 93, 4 or more children each. The number of married women whose husbands were living, but who did not live with their husbands, was 174.

1,176 male adults, and 653 adult females, were single.

Of the juveniles, 106 had both parents living; 82 had one parent living; and 25 were orphans.

The total number who had attended day schools was 2,665; of whom, 566 had not attended more than 1 year; 420 had attended from 1 to 2 years; 367 from 2 to 3 years; and 1,312, 4 years and upwards.

The total number who had attended Sunday schools, was 591; of whom, 161 had not attended more than 1 year; 93 from 1 to 2 years; 66 from 2 to 3 years; and, 271, 4 years and upwards.

|         |           | Number who had attended Day Schools. |                    |               |                      |        | Number who had attended Sunday Schools. |                    |               |                      |        |
|---------|-----------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------------|--------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------------|--------|
|         |           | 1 Year and under.                    | From 1 to 2 years. | 2 to 3 years. | 4 Years and upwards. | Total. | 1 Year and under.                       | From 1 to 2 years. | 2 to 3 years. | 4 Years and upwards. | Total. |
| Males   | Adults    | 291                                  | 221                | 214           | 892                  | 1,618  | 26                                      | 7                  | 10            | 38                   | 81     |
|         | Juveniles | 49                                   | 21                 | 12            | 38                   | 120    | 11                                      | 4                  | 4             | 9                    | 28     |
| Females | Adults    | 201                                  | 167                | 135           | 377                  | 880    | 110                                     | 79                 | 51            | 221                  | 461    |
|         | Juveniles | 25                                   | 11                 | 6             | 5                    | 47     | 14                                      | 3                  | 1             | 3                    | 21     |
|         |           | 566                                  | 420                | 367           | 1,312                | 2,665  | 161                                     | 93                 | 66            | 271                  | 591    |

The extent of their attainments in reading and writing, was as follows :

|                                          | Males.  |                           |            |                           |        |                           | Females. |                           |            |                           |        |                           | General<br>Total. |                           |
|------------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------|------------|---------------------------|--------|---------------------------|----------|---------------------------|------------|---------------------------|--------|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
|                                          | Adults. |                           | Juveniles. |                           | Total. |                           | Adults.  |                           | Juveniles. |                           | Total. |                           |                   |                           |
|                                          | No.     | Centesimal<br>Proportion. | No.        | Centesimal<br>Proportion. | No.    | Centesimal<br>Proportion. | No.      | Centesimal<br>Proportion. | No.        | Centesimal<br>Proportion. | No.    | Centesimal<br>Proportion. | No.               | Centesimal<br>Proportion. |
| Neither . . . .                          | 621     | 31                        | 77         | 50                        | 698    | 32                        | 564      | 43                        | 39         | 67                        | 603    | 44                        | 1301              | 37                        |
| Read only . . . .                        | 251     | 13                        | 12         | 8                         | 263    | 12                        | 423      | 32                        | 15         | 26                        | 438    | 32                        | 701               | 20                        |
| Read & write imperf.                     | 1023    | 51                        | 66         | 42                        | 1089   | 51                        | 294      | 23                        | 4          | 7                         | 298    | 22                        | 1387              | 39                        |
| Read & write in a }<br>superior manner } | 106     | 5                         | —          | —                         | 106    | 5                         | 31       | 2                         | —          | —                         | 31     | 2                         | 137               | 4                         |
| Total . .                                | 2001    |                           | 155        |                           | 2156   |                           | 1312     |                           | 58         |                           | 1370   |                           | 3526              |                           |

The information on which the following statements are based, was attained from the accounts of the boys themselves, and other parties who attended to receive them, collated with the statements of the boys when examined on their admission into prison, and the personal knowledge of the officers, as to the character and circumstances of the boys and their friends.

Of 130 boys referred to in this return, 12 were apprentices, and 18 office and shopboys; 8 were mariners; 19 were employed at roperies, brickfields, and in coal-yards; 6 worked with their parents; 31 were employed in desultory occupations—as hawking, selling chips, carrying at markets, and other casual employment; 9 professed to live by begging or stealing; 8 went to school; and 19 did not profess, nor could it be ascertained, that they had any occupation.

53 Had good and comfortable homes.

23 Had tolerable homes; i. e. sufficient sustenance, but with few of the comforts or luxuries of life.

31 Had insufficient homes; viz. where the means of living were precarious, and privation either of food or raiment, had frequently to be borne.

9 Had badly conducted homes; viz. where the conduct of the parents or guardians, rendered their homes uncomfortable, and where the children had been grossly ill used.

14 Had no homes.

63 Had both parents living.

46 Had one parent living.

21 Had no parents.

The following would appear to have been the principal primary causes to the commission of crime in these cases:—

Living in low vicious neighbourhoods, with its concomitant evils of bad companions, penny theatres, and other low juvenile amusements . . . . . 72

and, Desultory occupations . . . . . 14

Parental neglect and ill usage at home . . . . . 11

No cause satisfactorily ascertained . . . . . 33

The character and description of those who attended to receive the juveniles, appeared as follows:—

|                                      | For Boys. | For Girls. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Respectable and decent . . . . .     | 57        | 6          |
| Doubtful (as to character) . . . . . | 19        | 9          |
| Known bad characters . . . . .       | 18        | 6          |

Of the above, 19 appeared to be very poor.

It will be seen, that the proportion of known bad characters and suspicious persons who attended for the girls, was much greater than of those who came for the boys.

The following Summary, will show the number of those boys who had subsequently returned to prison, classified according to the number of times they had been committed:—

| No. of times in Gaol. | Total Number. | Given up to Parents out of Prison. | Sent to Parish Office, or sent Home. | Returned to Prison. |
|-----------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Once . . . .          | 78            | 47                                 | 31                                   | 2                   |
| Twice . . . .         | 23            | 17                                 | 6                                    | 2                   |
| Thrice . . . .        | 20            | 13                                 | 7                                    | 3                   |
| Four times . .        | 4             | 1                                  | 3                                    | 2                   |
| Five times . .        | 4             | 3                                  | 1                                    | 1                   |
| Six times . . .       | —             | —                                  | —                                    | —                   |
| Seven times . .       | 1             | 1                                  | —                                    | —                   |
| Total . . . .         | 130           | 82                                 | 48                                   | 10                  |

It will be seen from the above, that of 78 who had not been in prison before, 2 only had returned to gaol prior to the date of the return, and of the 52 who had been in prison before, 8 had been subsequently committed:—

The centesimal proportion of recommitments of those }  
who had not been in gaol previously, was . . . . . } 3

Of those who had previously been in gaol . . . . . 16

The Table referring to the females shows, that of 23 girls given up to their parents or sent home, 7 had subsequently returned to prison; one out of 7, who had never been in prison before; the other 6 were of the 16 who had been previously committed.

The total number of Juveniles given up to parents, &c., during the six months previous to the Gaol Sessions in January 1843, was as follows:—

| Sent to Parish Office. |         | Sent Home from Prison. |         | Given up to Parents & Friends |         | Total. |         | Number who had returned to Gaol. |         |
|------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|--------|---------|----------------------------------|---------|
| Males                  | Females | Males                  | Females | Males                         | Females | Males  | Females | Males                            | Females |
| 35                     | 4       | 33                     | 10      | 175                           | 48      | 243    | 62      | 26                               | 19      |

The proportion of girls who had returned to the prison, after having been given up to their parents, &c., it will be seen was much greater than of boys; and, of both sexes, the individuals who were recommitted, were principally of the class which had been previously in prison.

The following is the centesimal proportion of all Juveniles who had returned to prison, after having been given up to parents, &c.

|         |   |   |   |    |
|---------|---|---|---|----|
| Males   | . | . | . | 10 |
| Females | . | . | . | 31 |

Such is the fearful, exact, and true history of crime in one gaol in one Town of England, and that a Town commonly considered as one having abundant means, and whose institutions have been always conducted on a liberal scale, and in the most spirited manner. Since we first wrote, in the month of July, on the state of the prison of that town, the council of that Borough have resolved to erect a new prison, capable of containing 1000 prisoners, where ample room for separate confinement will be afforded, and where, at all events, the classes may be effectually separated. It gives us great satisfaction to make this announcement. With a Gaol constructed after the manner of the Model Prison, and a Governor zealous and able as Mr. Highton, aided by the labours of the Rev. Chaplain to that establishment, we shall have all the good that can be obtained from an attempt to reform within the walls of a *Prison*. We want however, we again repeat, REFORMATORIES, as well as Prisons.

At some future time it may be necessary in the discharge of the duty we have imposed upon ourselves, again to refer to the important evidence which this analysis gives as to the results of our mode of treating our criminal population. Our readers will do us the justice to remember, that Mr. Highton's investigations fully confirm all we have advanced on this subject in the *Christian Teacher*. In crowded Gaols, without classification, no



other results can be expected. We entertain, still, the opinion, that the true way to deal with criminals, is to take the offender after his first crime, and reform him then; afterwards, the task becomes more difficult and expensive. Until the Government shall be roused to a sense of the importance of this question, the humane and the intelligent have the strongest inducements to use every exertion to awaken their countrymen to the true position in which we stand, with regard to our criminal population.

E. R.

ART. VI.—DIVINE INVERSION: or a View of the Character of God as in all respects opposed to the Character of Man. By DAVID THOM. 8vo. pp. 297. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

THIS book is a remarkable example of the injurious effect of Dogmatic Theology, in connection with a belief in the *verbal* inspiration of the Scriptures, on a mind not disqualified by nature for the pursuit of reality and truth. It consists of the most extravagant exaggeration of trifles into systems; the trifles, too, being often not facts, but fanciful interpretations.

The Author complains with some bitterness, that his former works have obtained no notice from "Modern Pharisees," for so he denominates the orthodox who do not belong to his school of orthodoxy. It is instructive to observe how one dogmatic divine will speak of others, who with an exclusiveness and an assumption of infallibility, not a whit greater than his own, select other dogmas than those he chooses to honour, upon which to announce to the world, that they are "taught from above."

"It" (the Doctrine of Divine Inversion) "deposes from that high supremacy wherewith fleshly religionists have seen meet to invest them, those objects of their intense idolatry, creature faith, creature repentance, creature free-will, creature love, and creature perseverance, by ascribing salvation,—free, full, finished, salvation,—to the one living and true God alone.—(Isaiah xlv. 22—25.) Under such circumstances, can mere fleshly mind sit tamely and quietly by? Its religious instructors represented as mere 'blind leaders of the blind;' its own *pious* efforts to obtain life everlasting stigmatized as exhibitions of the enmity of man's mind to God; and its gods, the cherished objects of its religious idolatry, insulted and trampled under foot; can flesh and blood be expected to tolerate such things? Certainly not. Favour, therefore, from the serious, the fleshly conscientious, and the fleshly pious, I cannot have. Active support from them is still more decidedly out of the question. Well off may I regard myself if I escape altogether the effects of their vengeance. Their open and embittered opposition, however, is not the principal thing which I have to dread. The probable result of the publication of this work will be, what I have experienced on former occasions, the preservation on the part of the *soi-disant* pious, that is, of modern Pharisees, of total silence. Fleshly religion is too cunning, if it can help it, to compromise itself by subjecting its views to the full glare of the light of divine truth. Ignorant and owl-like as are the minds of its professors, and, circumstanced as they are, necessarily mistaking darkness for light, there is nevertheless combined with

their blindness too much of the nature of the serpent to permit them, in a matter of this kind, to expose themselves to unnecessary risques.

"The whole scope of this volume, it is true, is anti-Socinian; and this, at a glance, it must by every one who is competently instructed in religious matters, be perceived to be. But it is also anti-Evangelical, understanding the word evangelical in the common, although much-abused, sense which is ascribed to it. *Saying what thou dost, Master, or fellow, as the case may be, thou reproachest us also*, is, therefore, the only sort of acknowledgement which, from the so-called evangelical, I can anticipate. 'Hadst thou seen meet to unite with us in assisting to put down that monstrous, unscriptural, and God-defying theory Socinianism, and to confine thyself to this object, we might have graciously vouchsafed a smile to thee and thy labours. But having chosen to include us in the same sweeping sentence of condemnation with those whose notions we reprobate, what sort of treatment, ask thyself, hast thou a right to expect at our hands?'—*Preface*, p. xix.

We are very sorry that we cannot, in two words, inform our readers what the Author exactly means by his "grand principle" of 'Divine Inversion,' for though we have perused his work carefully, as in duty bound, we really would not undertake to report his meaning in a manner that would satisfy our author. We are therefore reduced to the discreditable necessity of hunting him through his own pages, and permitting him to speak for himself, wherever through his 'Hints,' 'Facts,' 'Objections,' and 'Specimens,' we can find anything apprehensible. We must begin by warning our readers, that our author is not particular in his use of the word Inversion: sometimes it means only, in an inverse order; sometimes, it means flat opposition; sometimes, mere difference, *called* opposition as changeable and unchangeable; and either sense equally establishes the 'grand principle'.

We shall give, first, a few of the hints or suggestions of 'the Grand Principle' contained in the sacred volume, which to the surprise of our author, have hitherto attracted little notice. They are these—

"My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord; for as the heavens are higher than the earth," &c. This passage had certainly "attracted our notice," though we cannot say it ever suggested to us even the possibility of a new system of Divine Things. "Am I not warranted," says our author, "in stating it to be the import of this language, that the ways and thoughts of God stand in diametrical opposition to those of man?" If we are to answer as ordinary men, and *logicians*, we modestly say, No. But if

we are to answer in relation to what the language may suggest to minds "taught from above," we prefer saying nothing.

But to proceed with the hints contained in Scripture of the "Grand Principle:"

*"That which is highly esteemed amongst men, is abomination in the sight of God."*

*"The Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart."*

*"Whoever shall exalt himself, shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself, shall be exalted."* Our author forgets that this is an instance of *human* Inversion,—the humiliation being inflicted by the host on the forward guest; so that he has taken an example of what prevails among men and attributed it to God, in order to exhibit how totally everything that prevails among men is opposed to the procedure of God.

*"God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble."*

These and a few kindred passages, contain "the suggestions of the grand principle, which it is the business" of the work on Divine Inversion, "to state and develope."

This grand principle, our author says, is stated, we suppose he means *implied*, by our Lord himself in the celebrated passage, *"If David, then, call him Lord, how is he his Son?"*

"Having had revealed to us the doctrine of Divine Inversion, the key to the true solution is put into our hands." The "puzzle" is solved by a consideration of *time*; the Messiah, as *man* being inferior, because posterior to David; and as *God*, superior, because anterior. "Shall I," says the favoured man to whom this Divine Inversion has been revealed, "be able to make the matter more intelligible if I state it thus?"

Naturally.—David, first; Messiah, second.

Spiritually.—Messiah, first; David, second.

"Or thus:—

Naturally.—David, first; Messiah, last.

Spiritually.—David, last; Messiah, first.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Striking and painful is it to think, that what was a puzzle to the Jews, remains equally a puzzle to our Jewishly-minded professors of Christianity, to the present day. And yet the solution proposed by me is no novelty. Multitudes have seen it before me. But by few has the application of the principle here laid down by our Lord to the rest of Scripture been noticed; indeed, by few I fear, have the query proposed and the answer implied been regarded in any higher light than that of a happy exercise of ingenuity. How different the view taken of the doctrine inculcated in this passage by those to whom God



has been pleased, not only to open up its truth, but to show its unspeakable importance."

In sober sadness is not this most melancholy? Here is something like a distinct revelation claimed for a view which is just the common orthodox interpretation, a little more absurdly stated.

But we proceed to "some scriptural facts in which the doctrine of Inversion is embodied."

"In the order of nature, Cain was first and Abel second; in the order of grace, or spirit, Abel as having been preferred to Cain stood first, and Cain was thrown into the back-ground." Is this a universal principle?

"Naturally and properly, murder and treason rank among the most atrocious of crimes. But God having enjoined upon Abraham the slaying of his own and only son, the patriarch, without the slightest hesitation, prepared to plunge the knife into the bosom of his child; and Rahab, the harlot, actually in opposition to all the duties prescribed by allegiance to her sovereign, received Joshua's spies, kindly entertained them, and sent them away in peace. \* \* \* \* In this injunction and approbation on the part of God, of what stands revoltingly opposed to every correct notion of mere human morality, are we not furnished with a most striking example of Divine Inversion?" (p. 14.) Does this mean that the moral perceptions of the divine and human mind are fundamentally different? And if it does not mean this, namely, that God approves of murder and treason, what does it mean? Absolutely nothing that we can discover.

"*The last shall be first, and the first last.*" In the natural order the Jews were called first and the Gentiles last,—in the spiritual order the Gentiles, as believers, take precedence. But what principle of Divine Inversion, that is, of thorough opposition between the ways of man and God, can be founded upon this? There is a *human* inversion which, really, might as well be reared into some recondite, compensatory, system. In lading and unlading, that which is first put in is last taken out;—there is an inverse order of stowage and delivery, the first is last,—and the last first. Is there any deeper wisdom in this law of lading and discharge, than we have yet discovered? There is indeed a profound moral significance in the first being last and the last first,—but the view it opens is very far from that "of the character of God, as in all respects opposed to the character of man."

In answer to the objection, from the typical character of natural things, which might be urged to these views of utter

opposition between man and God, our author affirms that there is no analogy whatever, except of the most accidental kind, between things human and things divine,—and that the relation between them is not one of analogy, but one of contrast. Yet he does not deny the typical character of natural things,—only he thinks the office of types is to develope *contrasts*. “From things human to things divine, it is impossible to construct a syllogism which is worth our listening to. The very attempt to reason on such a principle is sophistical. And when lengthened arguments from human to divine things, or from presumed analogies subsisting between the former and the latter, have been had recourse to, it is sometimes rather difficult to persuade oneself of the thorough honesty of the individuals from whom such preposterous specimens of ratiocination have emanated.”

In the following passage our Author's views on this subject are more distinctly stated:—

“ Apart from the existence of a manifested likeness between things human and things divine, the religious principle naturally implanted in man's mental constitution could have had no opportunity of exercising and displaying itself. But analogy has a still higher use. It furnishes to God the means of imparting spiritual and real, as distinguished from mere *fleshly*, views of religion. Without a likeness subsisting between things human and divine, there could have been no means of suggesting the existence of differences between them; and without the discovery of a difference between the Creator and the creature, as the one must have remained for ever confounded with the other, there could in reality have been no divine revelation. In analogy or semblance, then, God finds the tie or link upon which he fastens the idea of difference or contrast. Analogy is thus not only the medium through which human mind, vainly attempting to operate upwardly, acquires and remains possessed of mere *creature* views of the Creator; but it is also the medium through which divine mind, operating downwardly, by the manifestation of difference, confers views of the Creator which are heavenly and spiritual.”—p. 33.

In another place we are informed, that the enmity between man and God will come to an end, not by the gradually transforming power of Christian and spiritual influence, but by such a crisis of determined opposition, that God will close the contest. “The enmity to God on man's part, will continue begetting enmity to man on God's part, until the display of mutual enmity, or of the thorough opposition between the two natures being complete, the controversy will be ended by the absorption of creature nature in the Divine nature. The

enmity to God thus existing in man, will only terminate with the existence of man's nature itself." (p. 39.)

Our Author is grieved that he has not space to enter more profoundly on this knotty matter, "but meantime," as an exercise, and "with a view to give professors of theology and biblical critics 'a nut to crack,' he begs leave to toss to them the following paradox:—For a mere creature to be like God is, supposing divine law to intervene, for that creature *necessarily* to hate God; and the liker mere creatures are to God, the more, making the same supposition, do they *necessarily* hate God." A paradox indeed, but not therefore a truth. A sinful creature, however, *with a conscience*, will more "hate" God, than the same sinful creature with no remains of conscience. But how absurd to make such a parade of oracular wisdom, in such detestable language, on so clear a matter; if indeed we at all comprehend our author, of which we are duly diffident. He says, somewhat profanely, that "to find out his riddle, a man must have ploughed with the gospel heifer." We should rather say, he had employed a tillage of his own to raise his crop of paradox, and ploughed the soil of the dead letter with appropriate success.

But let us examine the *logical* power of our author's mind. This may determine the quantity of attention we are bound to bestow upon his work.

"Soul, or the fleshy mind of man, is necessarily inferior to, and necessarily contrasted with the spirit or the glorified mind of the Lord Jesus." (It is also inferior to, and contrasted with, the *mind*, or *spiritual* nature, of the man himself.) "And this because Adam never was and never could be, in any respect whatever, more than the *type*, image, or shadow, that is, the creature form *of him that was to come*. \* \* \* Man's mind and God's mind may be distinguished, by calling them *shadowy reason* and *substantial reason*."

Then follows an argument, unequalled, as far as we know, in the annals of sophistry,—to establish that from the *shadow* of a thing, you can conclude nothing as to its *substantial* properties. From man the *shadow*, no inference can be drawn as to God the *substance*. And so our author makes *figurative* language the foundation of what he deems important conclusions, verbally deduced. Man's mind is not the *shadow* of God's mind, in any other sense than as a faint ray of the divine intelligence—it is not the shadow of Deity in the common, the material sense, of that word. But let us hear our author's illustration, of which he is not a little proud,—calling it "apt and instructive,"

“cogent and striking,” “an illustration, the minute and faithful accuracy of which must commend itself to every spiritually enlightened mind.”

“Now, *shadow*, we all know, can take no hold on *substance*. This fact may be satisfactorily evinced to the dullest understanding, by directing attention, at different periods of the day, to the first sundial which may happen to present itself to us. Doing so, it cannot fail to be observed, that instead of the shadow of the gnomon having any power whatever over the gnomon itself, the gnomon, as light advances, has its shadow completely under control; so much so, that supposing us to live in a tropical climate, at the moment of noon, when the sun is exactly vertical or in the zenith, there can be no shadow at all.

“Further, had we never beheld the substance by which any given shadow was projected; rather, to speak more correctly, had we never seen anything else except *shadows*; in attempting to draw conclusions from *shadow* to *substance*, (a thing, by the way, under the supposed circumstances of the case, impossible,) while, in a certain sense and inferior degree, we *might reason correctly*, nevertheless we should find ourselves in every main and important particular *decidedly wrong*. We *might be in the right* as to the general outline of the *shadow* corresponding to the outline of the *substance*: although even this is questionable, seeing that the sun, shifting the size and appearance of the shadow of the gnomon from its first appearance at early dawn to its absorption in the gnomon itself at high noon, would, if the gnomon itself were unseen or unlooked to, lead to a series of constantly varying and erroneous conclusions. Even supposing us right, however, as to the correspondence of the *outlines* of both, were we to venture to conclude from the indubitable *properties* of the *shadow* to the *properties* of the *substance* itself,—must not our conclusion be from facts known, to the existence of similar facts in connexion with that which is unknown? But if so, assuredly we should find ourselves *wrong*.—Who, bestowing even a glance upon such illustrations, sees not, ‘that from *shadow* to *substance*, no valid conclusion can ever be drawn?’”—p. 53.

Now who, we ask, “bestowing even a glance on this illustration, sees not,” that our author has raised an argument on a *metaphor*, the force of which he has totally misrepresented. Let us specify a metaphorical use of the word “shadow,” analogous to our meaning when we call the human mind the *shadow* of the divine, and we shall at once perceive, that from shadow, as it is *figuratively* understood, we may derive knowledge of its substance? But our author has turned a *figure* into a *fact*, and then, though the subject is a spiritual one, applied to it *physical* reasonings. Suppose we were to say of a man reduced by illness, “that he was the shadow of his



former self," from *that* shadow could we form no true idea of his substance? But this is egregious trifling. Previous to experience, we could not have believed in the possibility of such logical deception, on the part of a man endowed with no common quantity of natural acuteness. But the natural strength of any mind will soon be impaired by building systems on *verbal* foundations, and habitually regarding the spiritual realities of consciousness and experience as false and deceptive,—subjects only for the application of the principle of "Divine Inversion."

The first specimen of "Divine Inversion," 'divine revelation *versus* human reason,' is a complete failure. To be sufficient for its purpose, it ought to have shown God revealing truths, which Reason had previously disowned or opposed. Instead of this it is a miserable play on words, combined with a misrepresentation of St. Paul's view of the elements of human nature. St. Paul regarded man as naturally possessing, that is, deriving from his nature, flesh, soul, and spirit,—whereas our author regards *spirit*, not only as an addition to human nature, but a destruction of it. St. Paul's doctrine is that there is in man a spark of the divine Reason, which may be fed by communion with its source: our author conceives that man has no *natural* alliance with God.

The second specimen of divine inversion represents "the Will of man the opposite of the will of God, and *vice versâ*." This is established by examples, the first of which is that of Joseph and his brethren. They opposed God's will, and God made their abominable feelings subservient to his own designs. But can any universal conclusion as to opposition of the human will to the divine be drawn from such facts? What are we to say of Joseph's own will? It was not opposed to God's. What of Abraham's? Does the *human* will *generally* approve of the enmity, malignity, and revenge of Joseph's brethren? Or is God's will never accomplished except by those who wish to oppose it? Our author, indeed, goes so far as this. He asserts that, "Man's will never yet aimed at the same object at which God's will aims: nay, by its very constitution, and by the circumstances in which man is placed, it is impossible for it to do so." But let us not be uneasy; this is only a peculiar use of language, and every thing is set right again in the next page. It is not denied that man, under certain influences, may love and seek God;—but then his mind is no longer *human*, it has become *divine*. "If limited mind naturally apprehend the unlimited Jehovah, and the selfish creature naturally love the generous Creator, why require to seek for him, or pretend to desire an

interest in his love, seeing that the privileges avowedly sought after are already ours? Out upon such fooleries!" Out indeed. Why seek for knowledge, or endeavour after improvement in virtue, seeing that their seeds are already in us, and the privileges avowedly sought after are already ours? Such is the logic of theologians.

Throughout this section the author represents man as having only the "natural or carnal" mind, by which to approach God, in ignorance that "the spirit," the true revealer of Deity, is represented by St. Paul as belonging to man's *nature*.

Our Author conceives that as long as mankind is upon the earth, only a very few of them are to be "enlightened from above," and moreover he thinks that they would be spoiled for all natural and earthly purposes if it was otherwise. The world would be all the worse for all being saved; and great mischiefs and confusion would inevitably follow. It is a sad mistake, he says, that God would confer a temporal benefit upon mankind, by saving upon earth the whole, or the greater proportion of them.

"His relish for earthly pleasures and enjoyments, is, through his possession of the earnest of divine mind, sadly spoiled; and his disposition to embark, heart and soul, in human intrigues and pursuits sadly interfered with. Does not this suggest some little idea of the mischiefs and confusion which would inevitably follow, were all human beings, while in flesh, to become partakers of the earnest of the Divine nature? Were all like-minded with the few who are members of the Church of the living God, how could the affairs of this present world be carried on? These absolutely depend on men being stimulated to make exertions under the influence of human motives, and with a view to the acquisition of human advantages. This could not be, if all, or the great majority, were possessed of, and actuated by, Divine principles. Human enjoyments no longer proving attractive, human pursuits, and thereby human society, would, under such circumstances, be brought completely to a stand-still. Taking these obvious and necessary consequences of the establishment of a millenium in the flesh into account, who sees not that human beings and human affairs, instead of being benefitted as to this world by the universal diffusion and possession of the mind of God, would be brought thereby into a state of utter and inextricable confusion? Over and above which, mankind, in such an imaginary state of things, would cease to answer the grand purpose for which God has called them into existence: which is, to go on showing more and more what their nature is; and what they are as well as what they are not capable of effecting. Admirably, therefore, no less than easily, does our heavenly Father, in the case of the great majority of mankind, leave human nature to itself, and permit it to display and develop more and more its own distinctive features till the end of time: not spoiling man for natural and earthly purposes, as ordinary millennialists suppose, by bestowing upon all or the great majority of human beings while in the

flesh, the earnest of the Divine nature; but only taking out from among the human race a small, fore-ordained, and specially elected people; enough to maintain the controversy which was begun in Paradise between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, but not so numerous as in any perceptible and inconvenient degree to interfere with the pursuits, enjoyments, and ultimate tendencies of the nature and mind of flesh."—p. 98.

We ought to state, in justice to our author, that this monstrous piece of irreligion, this impious view of that nature which is God's workmanship, is qualified, in some faint degree, by his belief in the universal salvation of mankind in the future life. We cannot refrain from quoting here a passage from Bishop Butler, which often rises to our thoughts when men malign human nature, forgetting that God is its creator, and upon Him must be charged the *natural* elements of humanity.

"We should learn to be cautious, lest we charge God foolishly, by ascribing that to him, or the *nature* he has given us, which is owing wholly to our own abuse of it. Men may speak of the degeneracy and corruption of the world, according to the experience they have had of it; but human nature, considered as the Divine workmanship, should, methinks, be treated as sacred: for *in the image of God made he man*. That passion, from whence men take occasion to run into the dreadful vices of malice and revenge; even that passion, as implanted in our nature by God, is not only innocent, but a generous movement of mind. It is in itself, and in its original, no more than indignation against injury and wickedness: that which is the only deformity in the Creation, and the only reasonable object of abhorrence and dislike. How manifold evidence have we of the divine wisdom and goodness, when even pain in the natural world, and the passion we have now been considering in the moral, come out instances of it."—*Bishop Butler's Sermon on Resentment*.

Another specimen of Divine Inversion our Author finds in the answers which he supposes man and God to return respectively to the question, "Is eternal life conditionally or unconditionally bestowed?" "Conditionally says the mind of man; unconditionally says the mind of God."

The notions of the various Christian (so called, our author would say,) Churches, on the *conditions of salvation*, are thus described:—

"By virtuous and praiseworthy conduct you recommend yourselves to the favour of God Almighty, and do what in you lies to procure for yourselves the enjoyments of him in a future state of existence," says the Socinian.

"By faith combined with good works you establish a claim to eternal

life, through the merits of the only Mediator, Jesus Christ,' says a blunt, out-spoken clergyman of high Church principles.

" 'The merits of Christ recommend us to the divine acceptance,' observes one somewhat more cautious, 'nevertheless we cannot expect to enjoy the favour of God and enter into the heavenly kingdom, unless we aim at and exhibit the virtues and graces of genuine Christianity.' "

" 'All this is very gross, and too evidently makes salvation conditional, to leave us in any doubt of the unregenerate state of him who so thinks,' says a professor of religion of a somewhat more strict and pious stamp; a follower of Wesley, for instance. 'Such men, by their language, show themselves to be destitute of the very elements of Christian principle. Their sentiments are almost identical with those of the more enlightened classes of heathens. Their virtues and good works, such as they are, require no influence of the Spirit in order to produce them. Such views we unhesitatingly reject. If to hold them is what you mean by holding conditional notions respecting eternal life, your charge does not attach to us.' "

" And what, then, pray, is your view of the matter? "

" 'Oh! In true religion, it is not virtues which a mere heathen may perform, or graces in which a philosopher may stand forth as the rival of professors of Christianity, that are to save us. We must have a new heart. We must get the Holy Spirit. And in order to this we must seek, pray, strive most earnestly. It will not do to go to work in a slovenly manner. We must be active and stirring in the work of salvation. We must put ourselves in the way of the good things that we seek. We must join class; must observe and detail the workings of our own hearts, must endeavour to benefit by the experience of others;—Stop, you fool. What a long catalogue of terms of salvation you have already given us, to which you seem prepared to add many more.'—p. 131.

In opposition to all these "fools," our author holds that *eternal life* is given *unconditionally*, and in proof thereof quotes the text, "Eternal life is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." And if any deem these views dangerous to morality, (though we confess we should make no such charge, for we think there is in them an element of vital truth, amid great extravagance of statement,) he reminds his readers that by *eternal life*, he means neither the present life, nor anything connected with it; and that moreover, "even if his views should be prejudicial in the way insinuated,"—which he indignantly denies,—"they can never operate upon more than a very small, an infinitesimal, portion of the community. Only the few, the very few, who, being set free by the Son of God, find themselves free indeed, can think and feel with their fellow-members of the Heavenly Church."

Our author, being one of these select few, has an unfailing



support against all neglecters, despisers, and gainsayers. If the popularity of other sects and preachers, for a moment, attracts his attention, we must not say his envy, for there is nothing of *human nature* in him, he remembers that every Church which offers salvation to the multitude while on earth, "is *ipso facto* proved to be inconsistent with, and opposed to, the spiritual character of the religion of Jesus Christ." If he is ever tempted to lament, from any cause, the smallness of his own followers, he calls to mind, "that if individuals taught from above can meet together outwardly at all, their number can never be very great. And this because the fact of there being very few new-created ones existing upon earth at any given time, forbids the possibility of their ever constituting in any place a large external body." And if his views should be rejected, or his logic assailed, he does not expect the former to be received by minds "not taught from above,"—and he does not submit the latter to the judgment of human, or, as he prefers calling it, fleshly, reason. He has the earnest of the Divine Mind; and logic, and all things else, are to his eyes "*divinely inverted*."

We cannot undertake to present our author's views as a System. Merely as a *phenomenon* have we noticed this Book,—not at all with the view of controverting its statements. This would be unnecessary for our readers,—and worse than useless to the author. And here is the chief source of our dislike, we use a mild word, to this, and all such religious systems,—not their mere absurdity, but their amazing, their incredible arrogance. This has led us to adopt a tone, in reference to this work, which we would not use in reference to the most pitiful nonsense,—if nonsense was the worst offence. But here we have the assumption of personal infallibility in the most offensive form we ever remember to have met with,—and to which our author's concession, that he is to enjoy his superiority only for a brief time, since all mankind are to rise to everlasting life, partakers of the divine nature, by no means reconciles us. The assumption seems all the more intolerable, for the petty limits to which it knows itself confined. Would it be believed, before experience, that a man could be found to write thus to his fellow men, whom the world at least believes to be inferior in no capacity, acquirement, grace, or virtue, to himself?

"It is only in consequence of possessing a divine revelation in matter and language, *along with the earnest of divine mind to understand it*, that any man is enabled to apprehend,"—what?—the grand principle of Divine Inversion.

Again :—

“ I acknowledge that there exists no human principle upon which the principle of divine inversion can be founded.—The opposition existing between God and man, and between divine things and human things, is itself then an ultimate principle. It is of the nature of light. And like all that deserves truly so to be considered, so far from being susceptible of proof, it constitutes in the minds of *those who have been taught from above*, the evidence,—the grand, exclusive, and overwhelming evidence,—not only of itself, but of every thing likewise that is natural and inferior.”—p. 47.

Again :—

“ It” (Chillingworth’s Religion of Protestants, &c.) “ indicates too strongly a Socinian bias to be altogether agreeable to those *whose minds have been enlightened from above*.”—p. 93.

Again :—

“ The view of the matter now suggested, it would, however, be too much to expect fleshly mind to brook.”—p. 132.

Again :—

“ The mind of any given individual *must itself become the subject of a divine, that is, of an inverting process*, before it can be qualified to enter into and apprehend the view of a mutual and decided opposition subsisting between things that are human and things that are divine.”—p. 252.

We suppose this is a provision against criticism.

Again :—

“ There is not a single person *taught from above*, and” (profane addition) “ endowed with a reasonable share of natural understanding,”—who after taking the pains to inquire, will venture to assert that our Author agrees with the late Rev. Mr. Clowes of Manchester, on the subject of “ Opposites ?”—p. 267.

And to crown all :—

“ The earnest of it,” (the millennial reign of Christ) “ I am already enjoying in common with all the family of the redeemed born again from above, in my mind made new by having had conferred upon it the earnest of the divine nature.”—p. 296.

Such are the diseased states of mind which Dogmatic Theology, and the principle of the *verbal* inspiration of the scriptures, acting together, can produce. A man, not naturally assuming, can so exaggerate the importance of every thing relating to his own fancied discoveries in divine things, and to the small circle of writers and friends whose names and honours are known only

to themselves, as to address the following note to the public respecting himself and one of these individuals,—in which the ludicrous mixture of heterogeneous elements, human and divine, is, surely, unmatched.

“Sorry should I be to class my dear friend Mr. William Seabrook, of Plymouth, among the number of fleshly millennialists,—for his knowledge and love of the everlasting Gospel are too strong and decided to permit any thing of the sort,—and yet, really, I confess myself unable to understand his views, as brought out in that interesting and prettily written little tract of his, entitled, ‘The Millenium,’ which, from the copy now lying before me, has, I perceive, passed through six editions.”—p. 294

Before taking leave of our Author, let us thank him for two things; first, for his clear, distinct, and forcible proof that the doctrine of eternal punishment is in irreconcilable opposition to God’s goodness,—and secondly, for a word of searching advice to ourselves. In extracting the following passage we can only murmur, *O si sic omnia!*

“The divine goodness, like every other divine perfection, is infinite. That is, no limits can be assigned to it. And yet, to hold the doctrine of eternal torments is in other words to proclaim that it is not infinite. For, if God’s goodness extend hereafter only to *some* and not to *all*, then most obviously and undeniably is that goodness bounded. Aye, and so bounded too, as that evil, and not goodness, in regard to a large proportion of the human family, is invested hereafter with the divine attribute of sovereignty. Is such a state of things possible? The *infinite* bounded by the *finite*! Does not the very statement of the proposition refute itself? Let me not be told by way of getting rid of, or at all events of parrying my argument, that justice also is infinite; and that its claims no less than those of goodness must be heard and attended to. I know it. But this objection, so much vaunted by those who avail themselves of it, actually tells on my side. It is formidable, but it is so against those who oppose me. For, the claims of divine justice having received a full and adequate satisfaction in the cross of Christ, justice now no less than goodness demands the bestowments of heavenly blessings and everlasting life upon all. Jesus has by his obedience and death earned as his wages eternal life to all. And therefore it is that infinite justice cannot now be satisfied, except by Jesus seeing the whole human family as the *travail of his soul* invested with life and immortality. Infinite justice, thus, instead of thwarting the claims of infinite goodness, as popular theology would represent it to do, is actually, if the phraseology may be permitted, engaged in enforcing these claims. Instead of being rivals, they are co-operating to one and the same result. And neither the one nor the other can be satisfied, until all are in and through Christ Jesus made new. Sweetly and harmoniously are all the divine attributes adjusted to each other. They are all infinite; or, boundlessness is their common characteristic. Show me a single creature of God, and you

show me in that case a being capable of participating in the divine goodness. Tell me, however, that God, so far from displaying his goodness towards that creature, finds it consistent with his perfections to destine for him eternal torments in a future state of existence; and whatever afterwards you may profess to believe, do not, I beseech you, insult me by alleging that you believe in the *infinitude* of the divine goodness.”—p. 225.

The second passage relates to the defective popularity of Socinians, as our Author, very improperly, calls Unitarians. Though we cannot, as will be seen, recommend the whole passage, nor the manner of stating any part of it, there is a hint in it which deserves to be deeply pondered by those whom it concerns.

“Want of popularity may spring from ten thousand different causes, all of them as decidedly human and fleshly, as that very popularity, of which it is generally so envious. It may be the result of defective abilities, or defective learning, or defective tact. It may be the result of negligence, or of curiosity being sated and finding new sources of gratification. It may be the effect of advancing life, or of infirmities accidentally induced. It may spring from the human passions and feelings which always and obviously mix with the motives of those who set up and support religious associations. It may be the result of the unfashionable nature of dissent. Or it may have its origin in the circumstance of preachers not understanding, and thereby not being able properly to address themselves to and touch the springs of the different principles, passions, and propensities of our fleshly nature. Defective popularity arising from this last cause is particularly remarkable in Arian and Socinian communities. Their teachers are too exclusively intellectual in the mode of stating and exhibiting their religious notions, such as they are. They either do not understand that there is a principle of fleshly conscience distinct from and superior to that of fleshly intellect, confining therefore their addresses to the inferior principle of intellect alone; or, recognising the superiority of conscience over intellect they show themselves ignorant of the proper way of operating upon the former, by attempting to deal with it after a purely intellectual fashion. Hence the coldness of their worship, and the absolute impossibility, while they thus continue to act, of their ever becoming popular. Were Arian and Socinian teachers of Religion but to condescend to take a lesson from some of those sects who, although they are the object of their affected contempt, are nevertheless in possession of the key to fleshly conscience; were they but to study the various tricky expedients by which that highest of the natural faculties of man may be roused, dealt with, and influenced; and were they, with the splendid abilities by which many of them are distinguished, but to set about reducing to practice the lessons thus learned, they might in due time become as popular, as great proficient in fascinating and cajoling the multitude, as any other body of fleshly religionists.”—p. 114.



## ART. VII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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I. Reasons for renouncing Unitarianism, by G. W. Philp late Unitarian Minister, Rochdale; with prefatory Remarks on the Case, by the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London: Rivington.

The Berean Scripture Reader. A Sermon by the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D., Vicar of Rochdale, preached on the baptism of G. W. Philp, late Minister of the Unitarian Chapel in that Parish. London: Rivington.

The Berean Scripture Reader, A Warning to the Church: A Sermon preached in Blackwater Street Chapel, Rochdale, Feb. 12, 1843, with Notes, and an Appendix, containing Remarks on the Rev. G. W. Philp's 'Reasons for renouncing Unitarianism,' and the Vicar of Rochdale's Sermon on Mr. Philp's Baptism. By J. H. Ryland, of Manchester. London: J. Green. Manchester: T. Forrest.

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THERE is one passage in Mr. Philp's 'Reasons for renouncing Unitarianism,' on account of which *alone* we notice these various Publications. Mr. Philp whilst engaged in delivering a Course of Lectures in favour of Unitarianism, suddenly announced to his congregation his conversion to Trinitarianism. Mr. Philp very foolishly gives his reasons to the world: he should have rested satisfied with knowing that they were sufficient for his own conviction. On reading them the question will universally be asked,—What was there to give to such reasons a cogency they did not possess before? They are not new, they are the old thing in the old way,—nay, they are a very poor and feeble representation of the strength of the Trinitarian Argument. But Mr. Philp is not only converted to Trinitarianism,—it is a *total illumination*; and the question of *Establishments* is settled by the new light that is borne in upon his mind. And strange to say amidst all his reasons for renouncing Unitarianism he does not give one reason for renouncing *Dissent, Freedom from Creeds, Religious Liberty, Individual Faith*. He seems to think these fundamental principles are involved in the questions of textual evidence. Seriously,

this fact shows the character of Mr. Philp's mind; and his insensibility to the indignity almost justifies the priestly insolence of Dr. Molesworth. At all events he is a fit subject for it. Mr. Philp is not ashamed to print the following rich specimen of authorised arrogance in the preface to his pamphlet,—and to proclaim his own degradation to the feet of the Gamaliel of Rochdale:—

“The evils, the unauthorised, presumptuous, and ever-changing nature of Dissent had been partially discerned. *I felt it my duty* in the several interviews I have had with him, *to enlarge his prospects* on this latter point; to show him its sinfulness, and *to instruct him not only in what he ought to renounce, but also in what he must embrace.*”—Dr. Molesworth, p. v.

Accordingly Mr. Philp, who, it would appear, knew nothing of the sources of information on such subjects, until the Vicar of Rochdale took him in hand, declares,—

“*Since my change of opinions*, I have given diligent attention to some excellent works which I have been enabled to peruse, through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. MOLESWORTH; and I am fully convinced that the Articles and Creeds of the Church of England contain a Catholic and true interpretation of the sacred writings.”—p. 9.

But the passage which has drawn our attention to this Publication is the following:—

“Most alarming have been the sentiments that have recently been uttered and published by Unitarian preachers; and equally alarming the articles that have appeared in the Unitarian periodicals. Articles on Inspiration, Miracles, the Evidences of Christianity, and similar subjects; which, if not written by Unitarians, were published under the auspices of men styling themselves such; and in publications professedly designed to convey their opinions.

“Perhaps it has been in some degree a fortunate circumstance to me, that such opinions have been expressed, for it has led me to shrink with horror from the path to which they tend; to reflect more seriously on my own state of mind, and to enable me, I trust, to lay aside every weight and every prejudice which prevented my embracing that faith which the Scriptures were designed to establish. Yes, I repeat, to the Bible must we go as the only source of infallible instruction. How dangerous are the following sentiments from one of the Unitarian periodicals, ‘*The Christian Teacher*’ for October:—

“‘The first condition of a virtuous life (according to the established notion) is a *right faith*: no one can be a Christian who does not receive the Bible as a book of *Inspiration*; the first step, therefore, in the proposed reform of life, is to believe the Scriptures to be the word of God. Here I cannot help to observe, that if the most wicked and perverse

ingenuity had been employed in devising a means to choke the earliest longings of a naturally good heart, after every virtue whose name is inseparably (and I will add *rightly*) attached among us to Christianity, it could not have discovered a more effective as well as insidious method, than the demand of this previous condition. At the present stage of our civilisation, every page of the Old Testament, and many of the New, must inevitably raise a swarm of doubts in every free and healthy mind.' "

" Another extract from the same :—

" ' There will be neither peace nor regular progress in the pursuit of moral and religious truth, until the idea of a permanent divine oracle be totally banished. A steady progress can only be secured to mankind by the diffusion of Mental Philosophy, which will finally convince men that heaven has granted them only one source of Spiritual knowledge—God's light within them, in the character of Reason. Any system of Christianity which does not stand upon this foundation is false and mischievous.'—From a paper 'On Inspiration and Miracles.' "—p. 37-9.

Now what do these passages, thus selected as *flagrant* instances of a dangerous spirit in Modern Unitarianism, convey? Are these the *most* heretical passages that could be found? We could have helped the Author to more startling heresies. They convey neither more nor less than what Mr. Philp, previous to his Conversion, regarded as very obvious and very common-place truth,—namely, that the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures is a great promoter of unbelief, " at the present stage of our civilization," and if " demanded as a previous condition " is an " effective method " of repelling " free and healthy minds " from Christianity ; and that " any system of Christianity " which pretends to stand upon "*inspiration*," without regard to their own " source of spiritual knowledge, God's light within them, in the character of Reason," must necessarily become both " false and mischievous." These are not very alarming positions : babes may be fed with such pure milk.

Now let us have Mr. Philp's *version* of these passages :—

" Is there not here the rankest infidelity ? The idea of a ' right faith ' is made an object of ridicule. The inspiration of the Bible is denied ; and the vilest motive imputed to those who claim the inspiration as a first principle. The extravagant notion of human perfectibility is set forth in the words ' the earliest longings of a naturally good heart,' &c. ' Civilization ' is thought to be a plea for doubt ; the Bible is not to be received as a permanently divine oracle ; ' Mental Philosophy ' is to take the place of the Scriptures, and Reason to be man's only light and guide ! "—p. 39, 40.

Now is it possible that Mr. Philp can have *really and sincerely* seen all this, in the passages which he has had the simplicity to print along side of these comments; or have rashness and folly betrayed him into presenting in one view the slander and the confutation; the charge of criminality and the evidence of innocence? There is not the faintest tone of "ridicule" in the passages: the "vile motive" would belong to a case supposed as the *very opposite* of the one to which Mr. Philp refers it; and as to "Infidelity," the writer conceived that his views would stay its progress in the minds of enlightened men.

Mr. Philp had not the truth nor the decency (we use the word in its high moral, its classic, sense) to give the Editor's note, stating that the Article was the production of one of the honoured dead, of a man whose conversions were not changes of fundamental principles, but developments *of one spirit*, progressions in one direction,—that it was introduced into the Periodical in question at the express wish of the writer, Blanco White,—and that the Editor carefully abstained from identifying himself or his readers with all its views.

So much for Mr. Philp's truthfulness in matters of interpretation: now for his accuracy in matters of fact. He says:—

"He is aware that some of the Unitarian ministers strongly objected to this paper, and almost quarrelled with the Editors (three Unitarian ministers) for inserting it."

He is aware of no such thing. There are not three Editors, but *one* Editor, and *he* received his very first intimation of the "objections and the quarrel" of which Mr. Philp declares himself "to be aware" from his perusal of Mr. Philp's pamphlet. It is certainly possible to make *objections* to a man's proceedings without informing him of such objections,—but for a third person to be "*aware of a quarrel*" whilst one of the parties never even heard of any supposed foundation for a quarrel, is, we may say, an impossibility. We are entirely ignorant of Mr. Philp,—but we must acknowledge that all these circumstances leave us with the impression that the character of his mind is a very undesirable one.

To those who may feel any further interest in this matter, we recommend Mr. Ryland's Sermon and Notes; we wish his industry, knowledge, and ability had had a better subject,—but we thank him for doing well what few would care to do at all. Mr. Ryland, once, sharply found fault with us, in the pages of another periodical, because we had not communicated with him respecting an *anonymous* letter, with which he had favoured us,



and we have therefore the more pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the candid and generous spirit of the following remarks:—

“ With respect to the extracts which Mr. Philp gives from an Article in ‘*The Christian Teacher*’ of October 1842, there are those who could vindicate both the Editor, (not Editors, as far at least as I know,) and the writer of the Article, much better than I can. But it is scarcely necessary. Candour and knowledge will read the extracts differently from Mr. Philp. Common kindness and honesty is shocked at his ignorant and disgraceful comment. Had he known a little more of the mind from which they proceeded, most certainly he would have paused: its history and change would have taught him a different interpretation.

“ ‘What a glorious gift’ (breathes forth this same mind in its secret meditations) ‘What a glorious gift conscious existence is in itself! Heaven must essentially consist in the absence of whatever disturbs the quiet enjoyment of that consciousness, in the intimate conviction of the presence of God.’

“ To him ‘the glorious gift’ has terminated, here: he has entered (we trust) the blissful presence, and ‘every doubt and fear’ have ceased.

“ Thus far I may be pardoned. The Editor is sufficient for his own vindication, if he deem it required. The reader of the Article might have seen it in his Note: and Friendship might have divined it from its own feelings.

“ I have one other task to perform, and I have done with Mr. Philp. He gravely asserts that ‘some of the Unitarian Ministers almost quarrelled with the Editors for inserting’ the Article alluded to. What Unitarian Ministers does he mean? His degree of definiteness implies *some of a particular number*; and confirms rather more than a suspicion on my part, that he is speaking of an occasion on which both he and I were present; though perhaps he witnessed not the whole of it. If my suspicion be correct, I have no hesitation in saying, that Mr. Philp, in a kind of habit of making small things appear great, to say no more, has magnified an animated and most perfectly friendly conversation, into something approaching to a serious interruption of friendship. Do let him be careful how he interprets both men and things. Do let him reflect before he reports, either of the general body among whom he has but just ceased to be a minister; or of particular bodies of his brethren in the ministry, (if such he still considers them) of which he was very recently a member. There was one venerable voice heard on this occasion, to which all listened in silence; and had Mr. Philp gone home and acted on two words only which, in Christian candour and forbearance, it uttered in reference to the paper objected to, ‘*Answer it,*’ his alarm might have ceased; and it might have proved a better means of leading him to ‘the faith, which the Scriptures were designed to establish,’ than shrinking in horror from its path, and leaving its unexplored image still to haunt his imagination. He would then, too, have had no need to anticipate the authority of the office to which he now aspires. in not permitting the pamphlet to be circulated among his congregation,

At all events, in whatever way an honest, a fearless, and faithful examination had ended, one lesson he would most assuredly have learned ; ‘ Blame not before thou hast examined the truth : understand first and then rebuke.’ And probably with examination and understanding, all disposition to blame and rebuke would have ceased, though a difference of opinion might still have been the result.”—p. 106.

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II. *The Daughters of England, their position in Society. Character and Responsibilities*, by Mrs. Ellis, Author of the “*Women of England*,” &c. &c. Fisher, Son & Co., Newgate Street, London. 1842.

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We rejoice that so many of the works issuing from the press on the rights and duties of women are written by themselves, for we believe that women must ultimately settle for themselves their own position in Society, and that this will be in exact relation to the moral and intellectual energy which they exert. It is to be regretted that works treating expressly on women’s duties generally regard her only in her family relations, and seem to speak as if the whole subject was exhausted when the duties of the daughter, sister, wife and mother have been pointed out. Miss Martineau is however an honourable exception to this rule, and though we are far from agreeing with the details of her plans for improving the condition of women, yet we fully sympathise with the deep moral feeling with which she has treated the subject of woman’s more general relationship to Society as an intellectual and moral being.

We are often surprised that women possessing knowledge and kind feelings, can reconcile to their conscience the apathy with which they regard the moral and intellectual degradation of such a large proportion of their Sex as is found even in England.

But in general women are very ignorant respecting the moral as well as all the other statistics of their country ; and it would be highly desirable, if those works, which treat of their duties, would take the broad basis of their actual position, as a foundation for the theory of morals which is built up.

Nothing can be more certainly requisite than such knowledge, for if we wish women to act suitably to their true relations in Society, they must know what these are, and they obviously depend in a great measure upon the political and social atmosphere around them. We sincerely regret therefore that the “*Daughters of England*” does not justify its ambitious title,

and contains little excepting "a somewhat skilful dressing up of common places;" but as we understand that it is a popular work, it may not prove uninteresting to those who have not read it, to know something concerning a style of thought and reading which is now very fashionable among a large class of our countrywomen. The work opens with some "Important Inquiries," from which we extract the following statement:—

"As women then, the first thing of importance is to be content to be inferior to men—inferior in mental power, in the same proportion that you are inferior in bodily strength. Facility of movement, aptitude, and grace, the bodily frame of woman may possess in a higher degree than that of man; just as in the softer touches of mental and spiritual beauty, her character may present a lovelier page than his. Yet as the great attribute of power must still be wanting there, it becomes more immediately her business to inquire, how this want may be supplied. An able and eloquent writer on 'Woman's Mission' has justly observed that woman's strength is in her influence."—p. 3.

The inferiority of women to men, is an axiom which is far more admirable in the mouth of men than of women; men may, as the great Milton did, turn it to a very moral account, and argue that if sin is so dishonourable in woman, who is the glory of man, how much more dishonourable it is in man, who is both the image and glory of God. This is the legitimate conclusion of superiority, for where much is given much is required; and the correlative of every right is a duty. But if women cannot and dare not use the converse of this argument to excuse themselves to their own consciences, why then do they retain the original position from which it flows? Many women many no doubt assent to this theory from an amiable modesty, or from being accustomed to take for granted the assertions of others, without looking at the foundation of human rights and duties. But what St. Paul says in his admirable comparison of the members of the human body applies with peculiar force here; "whether one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it." Man is not dignified when woman is not honoured. *Diversity* is not *inferiority*. "If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole body were hearing, where were the smelling?" Man seems determined in all things to find an absolute greater and a less, a superior and inferior; God has made but virtue, the absolute, supreme, unchanging good; and upon everything else stamped the inevitable doom of compensation, so that what we gain on one side we lose on another. If the father's heart swells with a noble and lofty ambition, as he

gazes on his lovely children, the mother feels a depth of tenderness which may well atone in its intensity, if it wing a less adventurous flight. Which is the purer pleasure? either if the possessor be contented; neither if he envy the other. But even if this inferiority were granted, as far as this world is concerned, as it ceases in another and better state of being, it is unreasonable to suppose that women's duties depend upon a short-lived inferiority, which endures but for a moment's space, in comparison with the infinity of time which lies before her.

On the whole, then, we advise our readers not to trouble themselves with this *questio vexata*, because our conduct must ever have reference to a higher standard than any petty distinctions of this nature. Mrs. Ellis herself, when treating upon the subject of gratitude, claims a moral and spiritual equality for woman; but, as the following extract will show, she believes that she did not possess this until 4004 times the sun had run his annual course:—

“I have said that women, above all created beings, have cause for gratitude. Deprived of the benefits of the Christian dispensation, woman has ever been, and will be ever the most abject, and the most degraded of creatures, oppressed in proportion to her weakness, and miserable in proportion to her capability of suffering. Yet, under the Christian dispensation, she who was the first to sin, is raised to an equality with man, and made his fellow-heir in the blessings of eternal life. Nor is this all. A dispensation which had permitted her merely to creep and grovel through this life, so as to purchase by her patient sufferings a title to the next, would have been unworthy of that law of love by which pardon was offered to a guilty world. In accordance with the ineffable beneficence of this law, woman was therefore raised to a moral, as well as a spiritual equality with man; and from being first his tempter, and then his slave, she has become his helpmate, his counsellor, his friend, the object of his most affectionate solicitude, the sharer of his dignity, and the partaker of his highest enjoyments.”—p. 258.

We confess we are rather surprised that Mrs. Ellis did not follow the example of many modern writers, and declare that woman was superior, as a moral and religious being, to man, and inferior to him as an intellectual and physical being. It is certainly a curious fact, that some people seem able to appreciate diversity in no other way than the algebraical one of *plus* and *minus*. We believe, however, that if such parties would draw out the quotient of their several calculations, it would come *nihil*, which would sufficiently confirm our own position.

As it is admitted by all that “Power cannot act where it is not,” there is a manifest absurdity in stating that the correlative of the position, that woman “is wanting in the great attribute of



power," is that woman's strength lies in her influence. Influence is exerted power. And as surely as every effect has a cause, if a woman exercise influence she must possess power.

Considering the low estimate generally made of woman's intellectual capacity, we are pleased to find so long a list of subjects recommended to her attention; but in the midst of the just praise bestowed on scientific pursuits, the following remark seems to come in very oddly:—"It is not necessary that you should sacrifice any portion of your feminine delicacy by diving too deep, or approaching too near the professor's chair."—(p. 69.) If a subject of inquiry is delicate in itself, we cannot see how studying it deeply can deprive it of that quality; and surely the authoress does not mean to recommend any study which is deficient in this preliminary requisite. The following summary of Mrs. Ellis's views on intellectual improvement is written much in the same strain:—

"It must not be supposed that the writer is one who would advocate, as essential to a woman, any very extraordinary degree of intellectual attainment, especially if confined to one particular branch of study. 'I should like to excel in something,' is a frequent, and, to some extent, a laudable expression; but in what does it originate, and to what does it tend? To be able to do a great many things tolerably well, is of infinitely more value to a woman than to be able to excel in one. By the former, she may dazzle for an hour. By being apt, and tolerably well skilled in everything, she may fall into any situation in life with dignity and ease—by devoting her time to excellence in one, she may remain incapable of every other."—p. 97.

It is absurd to warn people against *extraordinary* attainments, because it must be evident that the mass of mankind have no reason to fear such a result following upon their very best endeavours. How excellence in one mental pursuit should incapacitate the mind for every other, is a problem, which it is as difficult to prove theoretically, as it is impossible to confirm by actual experience. That energy of mind which is aroused in doing *one thing well*, generally casts a charm even upon the most insignificant actions of life; we are, therefore, willing advocates of the preacher's text, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might."

We should be very sorry to see the authoress's suggestion carried out, and painting degraded into being a substitute for a *hortus siccus*; or employed, merely, in any other delineations from nature, as its ultimate object; what then would become of the idealizing tendencies which throw such splendour over Greek and Italian art?

As for those who feel "a natural repugnance" to a *hortus siccus*, we should pity them if the comical did not overcome the tragical in their case.

We are sorry for a perversion of mind which makes the authoress see with pleasure and joy all beauty, excepting that which radiates from the human face divine; for while she calls upon us to rejoice in all else that is bright and fair, she thus speaks of personal beauty:—

"When we think of its frailty, its superficial character, and the certainty of its final and utter extinction; and connect these considerations with the incalculable amount of ambition, envy, and false applause, which beauty has excited—we should rather be inclined to consider it a bane than a blessing to the human race."—p. 167.

Still more revolting to common sense and experience is the following consolation to plain women:—

"From many dangers attendant upon beauty you are safe, from many sorrows you are exempt; above all, should you become a wife, from that which is perhaps the greatest calamity in woman's history, the loss of her husband's love, because the charms for which alone he valued her have vanished. This never can be your experience, and so far you are blessed."—p. 180.

How many a plain woman, married for her fortune and not her face, may exclaim on reading this, "Oh that the *cestus* of Venus were ugliness!"

We have made these strictures "rather in sorrow than in anger," and we willingly do justice to the many excellent general considerations scattered throughout the book. Particularly we were pleased with the connection pointed out between health and temper; and the effects of bad temper are portrayed with great power and truth. We believe, however, that the best means of inducing women to attend to their health, is to make them acquainted with the organic laws of their constitution, as folly is most frequently found the companion of ignorance. The observations on punctuality and integrity are well worth serious attention—but women must be taught to value their own time, before they can be made duly sensible of the value of that of others. The following remarks are a fair specimen of the practical observations on life and manners:—

"In speaking of friendship, I have said nothing of that which might be supposed to exist between the two sexes; because I believe, that, in early youth, but little good can accrue to either party from making the experiment; and chiefly for reasons already stated, that man in his intercourse with woman, seldom studies her improvement; and that woman in her's with man, is too much addicted to flirtation. The

opinion of the world, also, is opposed to this kind of intimacy ; and it is seldom safe, and never wise, to do what society unanimously condemns. Besides which it is exceedingly difficult for a young and inexperienced girl, to know when a man is really her friend, and when he is only endeavouring to gain her favour ; the most serious mistakes are, therefore, always liable to be made, which can only be effectually guarded against by avoiding such intimacies altogether.”—p. 306.

C. L.

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III. A Kiss for a Blow : or, a Collection of Stories for Children ; showing them how to prevent quarrelling. By Henry C. Wright. Dublin : printed and sold by Webb and Chapman. 1843. London : John Green, 121, Newgate Street.

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This is the most delightful Story Book for Children which we have ever met with, and we have had the opportunity of testing its power to interest, not merely in the family circle, but in the Sunday School class. The Stories are taken from real life, and yet they seem able to please quite as much as the most surprising fictions ; and the very admirable moral which they inculcate flows from them most naturally and persuasively. The following extract from the Preface will introduce the Author to our readers, and we feel sure that having once made his acquaintance, they will not long remain satisfied without knowing something more of his book.

“ I dearly love the company of Children. They have been the darling playmates and the sweet solace of my life ; and so completely have I learned to identify my life with theirs, that while I am with them I forget, and they forget, that I am other than a child. I am glad the world is full of children. To me, earth, with all its other charms, were a gloomy waste without them. I love to feel as a little child. There is no solace in affliction so sweet as the sympathy of children ; there is no music so enchanting as their unaffected, joyous, laugh. I am never so happy, and the gentle spirit of humanity never breathes so freshly and cheerily into my heart, as when I am surrounded by a company of affectionate merry children. Their presence is never annoying to me. I long for their society.

“ Children have regarded and treated me as a companion ; and, as such, they have allowed me to share in their griefs, their toils, their joys, and their plays. It is a precious privilege to be admitted to behold the ever-varying mysteries of humanity. The heart of childhood has been laid bare before me. I do not believe there is a child on earth who will not recognise himself, or herself, in some of the stories of this book ; and their hearts will respond to the truth of what is written.

“ My appeal is to the hearts of children. Most of the stories in this

volume were taken fresh from childhood's realities, and children will not often ask whether they are true or fictitious. Their hearts will tell them, as I now tell them, that they are, with few exceptions, *simple facts* which have occurred under my own observation; and many of the names to which I refer are those of living children. During the last fifteen years, I have been an inmate of more than one thousand families and have addressed more than fifty thousand children, and recorded hundreds of incidents, that serve to illustrate the gentle loving spirit of Peace, and the malignant blood-thirsty spirit of Revenge. Much have I conversed with children about the duty of loving their enemies, and returning good for evil. Very many disputes and quarrels have I adjusted among them, and many of their sayings and doings have I written down, just as they occurred. I now give some of these to the world in this little book, wishing I could put a copy into the hand of every child who has contributed so much to the happiness of my existence. They would read it, I know, and as they read, they would call to mind days and scenes that have passed away."

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IV. Family Prayers, with Occasional Prayers; and Select References to the Holy Scriptures, adapted to Family Worship. By Benjamin Carpenter, Nottingham. 3rd Ed. 12mo. pp. 148. John Green: London.

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We know few works, of its kind, better adapted to its object than this. It is fervent, searching, and spiritual,—yet not removed from the natural tone of piety that belongs to an earnest mind, healthily contemplating the daily duties, interests, and responsibilities of life. It preserves that *medium*, which so many works of the same nature fail to observe,—an immediate application to life and temper of religious principles and feelings, without losing the sentiment of God, in the determination to be practical. If Books *are* employed in family worship,—we would not recommend the continual use of any one; the springs of feeling should be freshly touched. As one of such aids to domestic worship these Prayers are deserving of a place.

The Book contains Morning and Evening Prayers for three weeks; with occasional prayers suited to the Various Seasons of Religion, and the external conditions of life.

The references to passages of Scripture adapted for reading at family worship, form a novel and useful part of the work.



V. The Eternity of God considered in relation to the Course of Christian Knowledge and Virtue. A Sermon preached at Exeter, July 20th, 1842, on occasion of the fiftieth Anniversary Meeting of the Society of Unitarian Christians, established in the West of England, for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Practice of Virtue, by the distribution of Books. By John Kentish. 8vo. pp. 60. Green, and Mardon : London.

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We regret that it is almost impossible for us to take satisfactory notice of Single Sermons, without devoting to the purpose a very considerable portion of our space. We for the most part prefer, as most respectful to such publications, to pass them in silence, than to dismiss them with the brief expression of an opinion. We cannot allow, however, any thing to proceed from Mr. Kentish, without a respectful word from us. This Sermon is full of piety and wisdom : the utterance of a strong and of an affectionate mind.

It contains an Appendix giving a Sketch of the History of the Origin and Progress of the Western Unitarian Society.

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### THE INQUIRER NEWSPAPER.

WE have not been forward to recommend this Paper to our readers, until it had time to work out in some degree its own plan, and to manifest fully the spirit in which it is to be conducted. After this experience, we no longer hesitate to say that we entertain the best hopes of it,—and that if it should fail, eventually, to be everything that could be desired, or at least ordinarily expected, in a Newspaper, it will mainly be owing to a want of Encouragement, from that portion of the Public to which it is addressed.

From its first number, every succeeding one has been an improvement on its predecessors : its conductors seem to have acquired a more definite conception of their work,—and a greater facility in the very peculiar description of composition that is best suited to journalizing. It has stood completely clear of the evils of Sectarianism,—and whilst it has chiefly chronicled the doings and sayings of one Denomination, it has disregarded no passing question or event affecting religious Truth and Liberty.

In the present *legal* and political condition of Dissent,—and when, on any day, we may have attempted Legislation, on matters

of Education and Religion, requiring the instant attention of the friends of *equal rights*, we must think that a powerful and well instructed Organ, to place such questions in their true light, and to act promptly on the public mind, is a demand of the times.

It would be easy to suggest improvements, but our Criticism may be spared,—or directed homewards; and especially as we have no idea that the Editor has yet been able to work out his own conception of his Paper. His increasing command over materials and resources will give him more and more the power of rejection and selection. We know too well that a *poor* Periodical cannot always afford to be *nice*. One thing we may say, because it relates to a mechanical matter; a *careful correction of the press* is indispensable to success,—the absence of it stamps at once a slovenly and low character on any work,—and in this respect the *getting up* of the INQUIRER has not been irreproachable. We would just add that the Correspondence Department will require severity and caution,—and that to know, on what texts and subjects, certain Unitarian Ministers delivered certain sermons or lectures, on certain days, is not very important or interesting information, even to a Unitarian; and that, for no gain whatever, such announcements give a contracted and class character to the Newspaper.

We believe that the INQUIRER may become a most valuable servant of Civil and Religious Liberty, and cultivate the taste, by judicious selection from foreign Reviews and original Articles, for a higher order of moral, and religious Literature. That portion of the Public whom it aims to represent, if they desire to see a Newspaper of this description, should at once afford it that experimental support, without which, it cannot, under present circumstances, have even an *opportunity* of success.

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*Errata in Article on Dr. Channing, in our Number for January.*

P. 134, *third* line of quotation, for "*facing*" read "*fusing*."

*sixth* line ditto, for "*sealed*" read "*pealed*."

P. 135, *twenty-third* line ditto, for "*distressed*" read "*distrusted*."

“ Leave us not, neither forsake us, Oh thou Lord God of our Salvation.”

Leave us not, oh Lord !  
Where upon this changing sea  
Of time, doubt, and perplexity,  
Whose every wave successive rolls  
O'er the treasures of our souls,  
Whilst the stars of hope and fear  
Guide us through life's wild career,—  
Save upon thy word,  
Where shall the spirit rest,  
Where upon this changing sea,  
Save on Thee, oh God ! on Thee.

Leave us not ! lo Earth and Heaven  
Darkly press upon our view :  
Vainly have our spirits striven  
To untwist the false and true ;  
Those deep mysteries which enfold us,  
Cast their shadows on our lot ;  
All the wise the good have told us,  
Will not loose their arduous knot.  
See where Death's gigantic portal  
In the distance towers afar ;  
Thou must go, thou shrinking mortal,  
Thou must pass that gloomy bar.  
In that solemn trying hour,  
Leave us not, but let us be  
Fixed on Thee, oh God ! on Thee.

Leave us not, oh Lord ! thy Spirit  
Folds us to a deep repose ;  
All the peace which those inherit  
Who to Thee their wants disclose.  
Hovering o'er the abyss of ages,  
Time his dusty pinions spreads ;  
War with human power he wages ;  
O'er our dearest hopes he treads.  
Tho' he gathers all the treasures,  
Won in that ne'er ceasing strife,  
Tho' he garners up the pleasures,  
Deeds and woes of human life,—  
May we yet, with unswerved spirit,  
Look on mutability,  
Whilst we feel that we inherit  
Years of immortality.  
Leave us not, but let us be  
Fixed on Thee, oh God ! on Thee.





# THE CHRISTIAN TEACHER.

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## ART. I.—REPORTS OF MINISTRIES TO THE POOR IN ENGLAND.

ENGLISH societies, on the plan of the late philanthropic Dr. TUCKERMAN of Boston, U. S., for the diffusion of Christian and civilizing influences among the Neglected, have now been established in London, in Manchester, in Birmingham, in Bristol, and in Liverpool. Each of these valuable associations has its own system of agency; and the annual Reports of the different Ministers employed by them give some general insight into their operations and results. We hope, and we believe, that the published transactions of these institutions are attracting, every year, more extensive notice and sympathy. These documents are, we apprehend, increasingly regarded as representing a Great Cause, and as giving evidence, important and authentic, though unavoidably imperfect, of its progress and of its prospects. They are felt to be Voices from the Wilderness, which answer to the deep question, "What went ye out for to see?" To that question they contain almost the only reply. Private benevolence pursues its course in privacy. It is only from those, whose duty it is to search into the secresies of want and misery, and to give what publicity they can to the knowledge thus obtained, that we can look for disclosures which will satisfy and instruct us, and which, every year extending to a wider circle of friends, will every year spread wider the knowledge of the evils to be combated—of the spirit to be fostered in the camp, of the colours to be spread over the march, and of the weapons to be used in the war.

Each of the Societies above-mentioned has annually put forth  
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a Report of the proceedings of its Ministry. We believe that there has been no year, in which this has been omitted. Some of the Ministries have now been of several years' standing; and the Reports of these, individually, would already make a small volume. In no case, do we possess such a series; and, much as we could desire both to possess them all and to take a suitable notice of them, we feel that, if the first wish were granted, the second would be beyond our power. Our time, our limits, and the nature of the subject, would preclude it. All we propose to ourselves in this paper, is to give some passages from the different Reports of the last year—taking them in the order, in which we believe the Ministries from which they originate have been opened, and omitting only the one on which we should most willingly be silent. We regret that we are unable to give more than a few brief extracts from these interesting records; but we hope that our extracts will not be read, without exciting a desire to form a closer acquaintance with the reports themselves, and eventually to follow them on through all their future revealings of patient effort and hallowed success. On the labours of former years we must make no pause. We cannot notice, at one and the same time, the wake in the rear of the sacred bark, and the prophet-splendours that break away from her bows. We leave the past—though we know it bright and shining—to watch the present in its fresh and recent efforts, and to judge of the force of the gracious wind in the sail, by the masses of glowing foam that are flung from the prow.

The Metropolis had the honour (and a true honour it is) of being the first to adopt this plan of doing good to erring and suffering humanity. It was in London, that Dr. TUCKERMAN'S idea, of a Christian Ministry expressly designed for the neglected, was first carried out in this country. It was no common Voice, that then advocated its claims. We owe it principally to the eloquent exertions of the Rev. W. J. Fox, that the scruples of the cautious, the doubts of the sceptical, the fears of the timid, gave way,—yielding to the resistless impulses of a heart overflowing with earnest and boundless human kindness. It was he, who “broke the dark phalanx, and let in the light.” This should not be forgotten. It is due to Christianity not to forget it. The Voice was heard; the Ministry was organized; and two Christian Missionaries were sent forth, to do what they could in mitigation of the sufferings and in correction of the evils, which they had heard of with the hearing of the ear, but were thenceforth to know by the seeing of the eye. “Distance,” in their case, “had lent *no* enchantment to the view;” and the features of vice and misery did not improve as they approached

them. They saw, what, in other days, they had not ventured to imagine. They found "a lower depth" than the lowest they had formerly known. But they were not daunted. They had firm minds and loving hearts; and had entered upon their solemn duties, with a resolution which was not to be shaken. Year after year, they have now gone forth among the suffering in mind, in body, and in estate, to interpret the unknown tongues of misery by the inspirations of human and heavenly love. They felt the solemnity and the sublimity of their mission; and went forth with apostolic fervour and devotedness, to do their high duties as the Apostles of Want and Woe. It was a lofty calling, and they felt its elevation; it was a beautiful one, and they appreciated its beauty; it was trying, difficult, obscure, and often painful, but trial, difficulty, obscurity, and pain, were felt to be inseparable from their undertaking, and prepared for as things to be overlooked or overcome. They have already produced results, which show to what an extent the wandering may be reclaimed, the fallen raised, the sinking supported, and which make it apparent that Christianity is yet equal to all it ever was spiritually equal to, in striking light out of darkness, and working redemption out of ruin.

If it be imagined, that, in writing thus on the results of these good men's efforts, we are drawing upon any ostentatious statements in their Reports of great achievements past and magnificent issues to come, we have only to say, that nothing can be more remote from the quiet and modest tone of every thing that we have seen from their pens on the subject. We have written from the testimony of others, from some knowledge of the characters of the individuals themselves, from reasoning upon their natural and unavoidable influences, and from weighing the collective evidence of the Report against the subdued tone of every separate portion of it. We have no fear of over-stating the case. We rather fear to err in a contrary direction. For a specimen of the unembellished and unassuming way in which these excellent men are accustomed to speak of their exertions, we need go no further than the opening portion of the Report; in which this paragraph occurs, as given by the Committee from the periodical reports of the Missionaries:—

"In May, last year, (1841,) Mr. Philp found that the hopes expressed in his former Report of an increased demand for labour were not, nor were likely to be, realized by the poor: their situation in this respect was even worse than at Christmas. 'I was much struck,' he says, 'with the acknowledgment of a gentleman well acquainted with the trade, and not accustomed to look at the dark side of the subject; his words were, that he thought the state of things was never worse than

at present in Spitalfields, if ever so bad. Amidst all this, I confess, that the patience in suffering, and the still sustained hope which many of the poor manifest, often astonish me. Notwithstanding this, the general health of the district, and I would fain hope its moral character, are rather improved,—though the latter I confess and lament progresses slowly. In the midst of misrepresentation, our tracts continue to be read and our visits received as kindly as ever; the interest in our Schools, Classes, Mutual Instruction Society and Religious services, continues, and I hope, and indeed know, that they are productive of much good. On occasion of alarm of fire, in consequence of the burning of a lucifer-match factory, when the engines were obliged to play on our premises in Spicer-street to secure them, it was very pleasing to hear the kind expressions of interest for our institution by the neighbours, and the readiness with which some of the working-men offered their services.’

“Of the same season Mr. Vidler writes, “that in his district, instead of the usual brisk demand, there was a general dearth of employment, half employment, such as two or three days in the week, being the utmost some of those he visited could obtain. The want of the immediate necessities of life is a formidable barrier to the moral improvement of the people, and a continued check to the operations of societies like our own. A man said to me, ‘What am I to do? I should like to learn more, I should like to attend your lectures, have books from your library, and be always at the chapel on Sunday evenings, but I cannot find time. I work early and late all the week, and on Sunday I am so tired I hardly care to move.’ How little can be done with men under such circumstances! when they feel that time spent in their own improvement is, as a man once said to me, ‘a slice taken from the children’s loaf.’ Shall not the intelligent and benevolent exert themselves while so many of our fellow-creatures then have the noblest part of their being stunted, and sink into the condition of mere machines? If the eloquent pleadings of Channing on the moral dignity of man have been felt in our country,—if moral power be ever destined to overcome fraud and force—the state of the poor in our towns demands not only commiseration, but exertion. They can hardly obtain daily bread, how much less then moral cultivation! In my district there are hundreds, thousands, ignorant and suffering, consequently reckless and vicious. A decent person can hardly go down some of our courts without danger, by day of insult, by night perhaps of personal molestation. We must not blind ourselves to the fact that there are these morally and physically diseased portions of our population. We must deal with it in a spirit of Christian energy, and recollect, that every social improvement, even in physical things, is also a step onwards in moral and religious progress.”

—*London Report*, pp. 11, 12.

The following passage from one of Mr. Vidler’s monthly reports contains some truths, which are now, we hope, attracting more of public attention than they have ever done before, and upon which the results of recent Government investigations have thrown a flood of powerful and inextinguishable light.



We may here find the chief elementary truths, to the development and enforcement of which that rich but melancholy mass of statistical details has so effectively tended. The Ministry to the Poor has given *in small*, what the Poor-Law Commission has extended to the Pauperism of the kingdom :

“ In October 1841, Mr. Vidler reports to the Committee as follows :—

“ My visitations have been continued without intermission since my return to London in August. The autumn is usually a season of much sickness among the poor ; the present has, I think, been one of the most healthy I have known. I have met with but few cases of fever in its severe form. This is, I believe, partly owing to improved drainage (though much yet remains to be done in this respect), and partly to the advantages of cleanliness and ventilation being better understood. In our popular lectures on Chemistry, I have laid much stress on this point, and some appear to have profited by it. Though the season has been comparatively healthy, it has been one of much privation, owing to the want of employment, coupled with the high price of food. Numbers in the district have had only half instead of the full work of the summer season, and have begun to pawn their things—the usual resource in the depth of winter. How the winter, with its usual slackness of work, will be passed through, I can hardly conceive. It will come upon many who have already expended their resources. Extreme poverty is a formidable impediment in the way of the Christian missionary : it is not only that it prevents attention being given to the voice of the instructor—the cry is for bread, not knowledge—but, alas ! moral habits are continually becoming deteriorated by its influence. A man whom I visit has a family of *eight* children ; when I first knew him he had but *four*. During a period of six years I have watched the family, and they have gradually become more wretched, with less attention to cleanliness and home comforts. The man and his wife are both of them industrious ; but when it is considered that after they have paid for their weekly bread twelve shillings, but little is left for other housekeeping expenses and clothing : we see enough to account for a falling off in moral habits. As the family have increased without an increase of means, one little comfort after another has been dismissed, until the whole energies of the parents have been concentrated upon one object,—that of getting food for those dependent on them. While the care of the body thus absorbs all, the mind is disregarded, and thousands of beings are thus nurtured in the midst of our civilization, with minds as untutored as the American savage, and with as little restraint over their passions and desires.”—*London Report*, pp. 15, 16.

Our next extract is from the pen of the venerable Mr. Philp. It gives a painful picture—but certainly not an exaggerated one—of the sufferings of the Poor during a winter of unemployment. We grieve to feel its strict fidelity to nature. What must be the imperfections of that vaunted and haughty civilization, which contains, within its bosom, the realities, from which these pic-

tures are taken ! We trust, we feel, that they will not have been taken in vain :

*“ Report for January 1842, by the Rev. R. K. Philp.*

“ The last month has been one of the most laborious I have experienced, owing to the number of families visited, the state of the weather while thus engaged, and the extreme destitution of a great portion of the working classes. Happily, these increased visits were made, not merely to search out wretchedness, but to relieve distress : that relief, it is true, was confined to the silk-weavers, many of whom were without any employment, and very many more but partially employed. By the aid, however, of private donations, I have been enabled to give some assistance to other sufferers, who needed it quite as much as the silk-weavers. The number of naked walls, empty cupboards, fireless hearths, and nearly famished families, is really appalling. Houses with scarcely any furniture ; families without beds and with very little bedding ; groups of children sleeping on the bare floor, or lying on their ragged clothes when taken off at night, and covered with a rag or old sack ; women, just approaching their confinement, without a blanket to cover them, or any provision for their expected offspring ! Their food had been obtained by the sale of not merely their articles of furniture one after the other, but their unemployed working tools had followed in succession, to obtain the commonest necessities, and the smallest quantity even of these, by which to keep ‘ body and soul together.’ This is a fearful state of things, while luxury and plenty are around them, and wealth is amassed in thousands by those who ‘ toil not, neither do they spin.’ In several cases where there was not that apparent destitution, and there seemed a desire to make the best possible appearance, there was still a great want of real comforts ; animal food seldom eaten ; potatoes their principal diet ; a very common flock bed, often a sack of shavings, to sleep on ; a few pieces of what had once been a blanket to cover them, or only a patch-work coverlid. In several cases, I met with families of four or five children and their parents, who had not tasted food for full twenty-four hours ; so they affirmed to me, and their appearance seemed to confirm their statements.” — *London Report*, pp. 20, 21.

These Reports do not confine themselves to the sins of the neglected classes, or to their sorrows : they are written with an earnest desire to do justice to their *virtues*. This, we think, should be one of the foremost aims, as it would be one of the noblest fruits, of this beautiful and holy service. These indications of the fine community of nature, which lifts the poor to the rich, and levels the rich with the poor (in the possession and exercise of those affections and sympathies, which pour divine light through all the forms of our human clay)—the revealings of this community of nature, through the facts in which it speaks with most convincing power, will, we trust, do the cause of the

Forsaken, the greatest and purest service in the walks of society above them. The community of nature, of which we speak, receives, wherever it is mentioned, a ready assent, sentimental or sincere; but is far, as yet, from being admitted as a living and quickening reality, by those upon whom, if so received, it would operate with an energy that would regenerate *them* and *their world*. Once impressed with this truth, Society would resolve itself into one vast committee for recalling and redeeming its outcasts. Civilization would feel that the true Onward lies in the Inward; and fold its dazzling wings, to brood over its neglected nest. Such a time, we trust, must come, and is coming; and it is to the disclosures made by those, who have searched into the virtues as well as the vices and sufferings of the Poor, that we look, in great part, for the acceleration of its coming, and for the fulness and fixedness of the happy consequences which will attend it. With much satisfaction we give the following statements from the recent Report of the London Domestic Mission:—

“ I am sometimes amazed,” writes Mr. Vidler in November, “ how many of the poor live when out of work and sick; it is only by the help which they give to one another. I was lately called upon to visit a young woman in a dying state. She is since dead. She was almost entirely supported by the neighbours. One sent her tea, another bread, another some broth; one poor woman gave her half her own bed, and the parish allowed her 2s. a-week and medical attendance.”

“ Mr. Vidler also mentions that they have a benevolent fund at Half-Moon-Alley, formed by the poor worshippers contributing each 1d. a-week. It is for the relief of severe cases of distress. Two persons are appointed half-yearly for its distribution. When relief is needed, the state of the case and of the fund decides the amount given, which varies from 2s. 6d. to £1. The subscription answers another purpose—it is a bond of congregational union; much kind feeling is produced; the poor learn to sympathize with and care for each other. It is not uncommon for some of our people to say, ‘ We must do something for that family, they are very badly off.’ And though what we give is not much, it is given at a time and in a way most acceptable.

“ As another instance of kindness among the people, Mr. Vidler mentions that a poor man, who with his family has been for years an object of his visitation, and was suffering severely from want of employment, and illness brought on by deficient nutriment, excited so much commiseration, that on the delivery of a lecture by Mr. Vidler, the proceeds of which were to be applied to his relief, the sum realized was £2. 15s. The audience was large, and it was gratifying to observe how the poor exerted themselves to dispose of tickets.”—*London Report*, pp. 19, 20.

As we are not drawing up a Report ourselves, we must deny ourselves (though strongly tempted) the pleasure of drawing



upon our own recollections for other illustrations of this nature. One remark, however, we cannot forbear to make. The examples just quoted, as well as most others that can be given, are after all less to the point, than other instances of virtue, which, not exhibited or exhausted in any single or striking act, yet require more sustained and purified effort, and rise higher in the scale of true Christian praise. We have known of deeds of meek self-sacrifice and long-continued self-denial, compared to which the division of the only loaf or the gift of the last penny, appears to us an act of a less ethereal texture. Such incidents it is often extremely difficult to describe: their finest beauty escapes the touch that would fix them. Occasionally, too, the very attempt to describe them would be a breach of the laws of that discretionary Confessional, which every Friend of the Unfortunate should suppose himself to occupy. The time may come, when it may be wise as well as honourable, to give some of these, the finer histories of Misfortune; when time or change, the intervention of the ocean or the grave, may have removed every shadow of a reason for withholding from the world the strange and sad romances, which lurk among the dwellings of the forgotten. Many such must have passed under the notice of all who are engaged in this trying and interesting service; and, to some "gleams of truth" to be one day made known by them, we confidently look for details, which, not idly ministering to the luxury of wonder or of woe, will not only justify the noble Quixotism of the past, but clear away, at once and for ever, all apathy from the present, and all scepticism from the future.

The conclusion of Mr. Philp's Report affects us like parting with an early and holy friend. Such a retrospect reminds us of the sublime, "IT IS FINISHED," in its consciousness of hallowed effort, and in its prophetic faith in duties never done in vain. Late and long may it be, ere this aged "happy warrior" shall lay down his sword, and take his rest upon the colours from which nothing but death could part him! Many years, we trust, of activity and usefulness are before him; and that we shall often hear his voice in caution, encouragement, and instruction:—

"A review of the past history of the Society, humble as it is, affords matters for pleasing reflection. It has been silently, though slowly, gaining ground in the public estimation: many persons, who at first scarcely saw the propriety of its commencement, and who readily predicted its short-lived duration, now acknowledge its propriety, perceive its usefulness, contribute to its aid, and wish it success. Others who doubted the existence of zeal, sympathy and benevolence in the projectors



of the scheme, now acknowledge, though it may be reluctantly, that Unitarians have some claim to the character of Christians, and not a few, who are quite disinterested spectators, have acknowledged the good effects produced by the establishment of this institution in this district, the conviction that both directly and indirectly, good has been the result of the undertaking. To us, who are immediately engaged, it is truly pleasing to see the effects of our humble efforts in the improvement of the children; their progress in that kind of knowledge that is suited to their condition, their improved habits of order, cleanliness and industry. Several of them from being learners, have become useful teachers, others have gone out into the world with credit to us and to themselves, while their parents have been benefited by their example, and have blessed the hands and hearts employed to do them and their children such essential service.

"This is said, not boastfully, but gratefully; in acknowledgment of that blessing, without which our efforts would be ineffectual. Much praise is due to those who have assisted in this work, whether as donors or actors. To the teachers, my best thanks are due, and they have them most cordially; the services of one in particular who attends the Thursday as well as Sunday-evening classes, are above all praise; the patient, steady, cheerful exertions of that individual are invaluable. Would that the example might influence others to a similar course!

"I desire thus publicly to present my grateful acknowledgment to those individuals, whether in the town or country, who have honoured me by making me the almoner of their bounty to our poorer brethren, and to assure them, that the relief afforded to the fatherless and the widow by their means, has frequently called down the blessing of them that were ready to perish, on their heads. I beg also to assure them, that their past and future favours have been and will, I hope, continue to be employed in the way best calculated to fulfil their benevolent designs.

"In concluding this brief and imperfect sketch, I must express my earnest wish and ardent hope, that this institution, which was at first 'a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand,' may continue to increase until it has spread itself over the horizon, not only of our beloved country, but of the world, until the influence and efforts of sympathy and benevolence have converted the moral waste into a garden—have taught man to love and benefit his fellow man—have terminated the reign of vice and oppression, and established that of purity and happiness."—*London Report*, pp. 31, 32.

Manchester has been fortunate in the labours (we believe) of three very able and efficient Ministers to the Poor. The present minister there is the Rev. J. Layhe. He has spent but a short time in this service; but he has seen much, and done much, within it. His Report is one of deep and distinguished interest. We think, that, on the whole, it is the most satisfactory we have seen—the one, we should be most likely to put into the hands of any stranger, who might wish to be made acquainted with the nature and operations of this ministry.

Something of this may be attributable to the *newness* of the scenes here described—to the freshness of the truths which appeared to the writer to come from them. We should expect somewhat of the same character to appertain, more or less, to every *first report*; but we have no means of bringing this conjecture to any test. But this would not account for all that makes this paper so valuable. Its vigorous good sense, its racy good feeling—the clearness of eye and soundness of heart which it indicates—the cheerful broadcasting of its lights, and the tempered subordination of its shadows,—all are characteristic of a more than ordinary observer, and stamp this document with a value far beyond the mere requirements of the hour, classing it, not with the records only, but with the directories of this service. We were struck, at the very opening of this Report, by the generous and affectionate tribute which the writer pays to the character and labours of his predecessor, Mr. Buckland. Deserved as this eulogy was, it could not have come so gracefully from any other human being. It will we trust reach and cheer the honoured emigrant's heart in his distant home. Commencing with this subject, Mr. Layhe thus simply and feelingly calls attention to himself, as Mr. Buckland's successor:—

“When the above-mentioned particulars, relative to the ability and efficiency with which Mr. Buckland discharged the duties of his office, and the affectionate esteem with which he was regarded, are taken into consideration, I shall scarcely escape the charge of presumption in venturing to propose myself as his successor. I may, however, plead in extenuation of such a fault, that I had never the vanity to imagine myself possessed, at the outset, of all Mr. Buckland's qualifications, but that I was anxious to study human nature in its living and manifold exhibitions, desirous to initiate myself into the science and art of doing good, and was, moreover, favoured with the inestimable advantage, for many weeks in succession, of profiting by the example, the experience and the suggestions of my esteemed predecessor. Predisposed to the work by these concurring causes, I ventured to accept of the arrangement which the Committee proposed; and by their encouragement, have been induced to continue my humble services to the present time. And deeply conscious as I am of imperfections and defects which, if anything, experience alone can remedy, I trust it will appear, that I have not been altogether an unprofitable servant, and have not wholly laboured in vain.”—*Manchester Report*, pp. 15, 16.

We give the subjoined statements and remarks, as a specimen of the manner in which Mr. Layhe is accustomed to contemplate the scenes before him, and to generalize from collective particulars for his own and for others' good. Melancholy as are the facts, the inferences from them are most enlightening

and instructive. What we long to see, in the Reports of our Ministries to the Poor, is in part realized by these and similar passages. The Minister to the Poor should be no less a Christian philosopher than a Christian philanthropist. He is placed in circumstances, from which he may draw knowledge, the benefit of which may have very distant issues. He comes in contact with some primary truths in their mightiest and least sophisticated manifestations. He reads some great laws of our nature from their original tables: and, even if we suppose those tables to have been broken, still he may collect and transcribe a sufficient portion from the fragments, to enable others to reunite them into more or less perfect wholes. If he do but give with fidelity his own impressions of what comes before him, much must eventually be done to throw light upon the sad problem of Inverted Civilization—of civilization undoing its own work in its own bosom. Much more will this be the case, if the Friend of the Poor, thus domesticated among their sorrows, be qualified and disposed to reason out the facts before him to their principles, and to take from those principles the wisdom that will enable him to disarm them. We approximate to the knowledge of central heat and attraction, by descending into mines and caverns, for purposes of experiment and observation: And it is by descending into the social “dens and caves of the earth,” that we shall develop or establish those great and interesting principles, which are to be brought to bear upon the future happiness of millions, and to lift the crushing load from those whose hearts it would have broken. But we forget that we are detaining the reader from matter more gratifying and rewarding.

“The physical condition of the people residing in the neighbourhood of Miles Platting, is, I am sorry to say, becoming gradually worse. I have not arrived at this conviction merely from the complaints which I have heard iterated and reiterated almost every time I have entered a house, and which have followed me to my own residence, but from the anxious and care-worn looks of those whom I have visited, and the quality of the food which I have noticed on their tables. There could be no deception in this, as I make it a rule not to visit any family on a day or at an hour when they can calculate on my being there. On such occasions, I have very often seen industrious and worthy people, who make no parade of their distress, dining upon a few potatoes, sometimes with and sometimes without a small fragment of bacon, and at other times on nothing but a little meal porridge. Such is the miserable fare on which many subsist, who have to labour hard from an early to a late hour, whenever employment can be obtained, in order to procure as much of even this as will support themselves and their families. This state of things arises principally from a depreciation in the price of labour, and a



very prevalent want of employment. It is very painful to see so many persons tasking their powers and energies to the utmost, in order to obtain what too often proves a bare subsistence for themselves and their families; and still more distressing to meet with numbers who are driven to the verge of starvation, because they cannot obtain scope and remuneration for their industry and skill.

“When such is the state of the working classes in regard to the first necessary of life, it will excite no surprise to learn that, generally speaking, they are totally unable to provide themselves with the requisite articles of clothing and bedding. There is, as was pathetically remarked to me by an industrious weaver, a peculiar hardship in the fact, that the very people who produce nearly all the useful and elegant fabrics in demand, should be wholly debarred by extreme penury from the use of them. Such, however, are the circumstances of many of the operatives at present, that they can scarcely purchase a single article of clothing. The consequence of this is, that the working classes are rapidly wearing out every decent habiliment, and assuming the livery of extreme wretchedness; and some who would otherwise attend a place of instruction and religious culture on the Sunday, are thus compelled, by a regard to common decency, to remain at home.

“In a moral view, many deplorable evils are the results of a period of manufacturing and commercial depression like that which at present exists. Amongst the most prominent and pernicious of these may be mentioned the feeling of alienation which takes place between the different classes of society. Some kind of intervention like the Ministry to the Poor, seems absolutely necessary between the more wealthy and the poorer ranks of the community, to prevent their utter and irremediable estrangement from each other. I sincerely hope, that means will always be found to convince the working classes that no impassable gulf intervenes between them and their more fortunate fellow-beings; and to promote in the bosoms of all a spirit of candour, sympathy, and brotherly-love. At present, however, I have reason to think, that the indigence and sufferings of the operatives of Manchester, with other concurring causes, have induced a suspicion in the minds of many persons, that their legislators, their magistrates, their employers, and even the ministers of religion, are, in general, their oppressors and enemies; and are in league for their prostration and enthrallment. Of course, the just, considerate, and generous treatment they receive from individuals belonging to all these classes, considerably mitigates this feeling, and prevents its universal spread; but still there is a fearful amount of discontent and resentment smouldering in the minds of the poor. This is a deplorable and alarming state of feeling, and should be fairly brought into public notice, in order that remedial measures may be devised and diligently applied. One of these remedial measures is in the power of us all, and I earnestly hope we shall lose no opportunity of trying its efficacy. The manifestation of real interest in the condition of the indigent, and of a tender sensibility to their wrongs and sorrows, has a wonderful effect in softening and humanizing their disposition; and all who wish well to their fellow-beings, especially those in prosperous circumstances, should show,



on all occasions, that they recognize the brotherhood and the just claims of the poor, and are anxiously desirous to remedy their distresses.

"In another class, composed of individuals of a more pliant and accommodating disposition, habits of dependence and mendicancy are gradually becoming more prevalent. Their increasing difficulties are rapidly inducing in their minds a want of self-reliance, and accustoming them to the practice of constantly seeking aid from charitable sources. It is exceedingly difficult to render any assistance to such persons, even when they are labouring under peculiar trials, without exciting the conviction that they have thenceforth an interminable claim to relief. In such cases, harsh as it may seem to be, I am sometimes obliged to inculcate habits of exertion and self-reliance in order to induce men to avail themselves of the facilities afforded for gaining a livelihood.

"But, perhaps, the greatest evil resulting from the pressure of unfavourable circumstances, is the absorption of all the force and activity of the mind in material interests and pursuits. In their arduous, unremitting, all engrossing struggles to procure the necessities of physical life, men are in great danger of forgetting the higher faculties of their moral and immortal nature. Directed almost incessantly, as in many cases their attention necessarily is, to the means of satisfying the craving appetite of themselves and their families, it is scarcely possible for them to escape the debasing influence of such associations, nor can we wonder if their intellectual and moral functions are rendered subservient to mere animal propensities and ends. With many, I rejoice to know that this is not the case; but others, it is to be feared, lose all consciousness of the gigantic apparatus for virtuous action and emotion which lie hidden within the surface of their own corporeal powers. This materializing process, no doubt, is silently undermining men's religious convictions—suggesting meanwhile the most gross and unworthy conceptions of God and Christianity, unfitting the minds of multitudes for moral investigations and moral progress, and transforming human nature, with all its sublime faculties and capabilities, into a congeries of appetites and sensations. Deplorable as is such a tendency, and earnestly as we should endeavour to counteract and mitigate its evils, nothing, probably, but a change of moral agencies will prove a sufficient antidote to its pernicious and wide-spreading influence."—*Manchester Report*, pp. 16—21.

We have spoken, in a former page, of the value of these Reports, as enabling us to do finer justice to the virtues of the Poor. We give with pleasure the following passage, as illustrative of that remark. We repeat, that we see here a noble field for the work of a noble mind. We desire to see it better cultivated. The virtues of the Neglected are lost in the obscurity of their lot; but this does not make them less real, less beautiful, or less holy. We have more perhaps to learn from "the desolate places" of society, than we have from the central parts of Africa or Australia. The honours of discovery should be more equally divided. If the adventurer is to be honoured, who

has watched the twilight emerging of the hippopotami from some unknown tropical lake, or who has brought back the knowledge of some superb stranger-bird from the mysterious inlands of the South-Sea Continent; let not *him* be unhonoured, who—from regions which he only has explored—brings back the knowledge of a fact that beautifies our common humanity—of a virtue, that was content to sweeten the shade, without any thought that the searching wind would betray it.

“ Let it not be supposed, however, from these remarks, that there is but little nobleness of character amongst the working classes. I am happy to bear my most decided testimony to the contrary. It has often given me great pleasure, and is in itself a beautiful and touching sight, to observe how the poor sympathize with each other in their trials, ‘ bear each other’s burthens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.’ Indeed it appears to me, that an incidental effect of their present distress is to elicit, and more distinctly to show the kindness, sympathy and generosity, which are often concealed beneath a very humble garb, and obscured by a rude and uncouth address. Nor are these the only good characteristics, which, in these very unfavourable circumstances, are developed by individuals in humble life. I am acquainted with some persons of this class, and doubtless there are many others, who amidst difficulties of a most formidable and trying nature, in spite of the heart-corroding cares to which they are subjected, and in defiance of the degrading influences against which they have to contend, manage nevertheless, not only to keep up a respectable appearance and a hopeful spirit, but also to preserve such an amount of intelligence and such elevation of character as must excite the admiration and esteem of every well-constituted mind. As an illustration of the genuine respectability of character and the good economy which sometimes co-exist with extreme poverty, I may allude to the case of an individual well known to my respected predecessor, whose wife, now nearly seventy years of age, has for about ten years been rendered nearly helpless by a severe nervous complaint, and whose entire income, out of which he has to pay a weekly rent of half-a-crown, does not amount to more than six or seven shillings per week. Yet, incredible as it may seem, this man contrives to keep himself, his wife and his house in a most exemplary state of decency, and with his very limited means, appears to be much more comfortable and contented than many who have only the same number to provide for with twice or thrice his income. I do not mention this with the view of insinuating that such a scanty sum is sufficient to render two aged persons as comfortable as they ought to be; for doubtless they must live very meanly and abstemiously, and endure many hardships; but my object is to show how much depends on character; and how much, in the most trying circumstances, may be done to lighten the burthens of life by good economy and good conduct. Another case of a somewhat similar character came under my observation, about the commencement of the present year. This family resides in the neighbourhood of St. George’s Road, and con-

sists of a man, his wife, and their six children, of whom the eldest is only ten years of age. These unfortunate persons were formerly in easy circumstances, the head of the family having filled several respectable situations, from which he can have satisfactory testimonials of character. I have seen one of these, and both from this, and from my own observations, feel pretty sure, that misfortunes, and not vicious habits, have plunged him and his family in distress. It appears, that the poor man lost a good situation in Dublin by the failure of his employer, and since then has had no permanent appointment. For a considerable time, this family was chiefly supported by the industry of the mother, who had an infant to take care of and nourish, as well as to superintend all the little arrangements of her household; and yet managed to earn five or six shillings a-week by making caps for boys, an employment to which she had never before been accustomed. This, with the exception of her husband's casual earnings, was, for some time, their sole dependence. They have since somewhat extended their adopted business by employing one or two young women to assist them, and notwithstanding many difficulties, seem hopefully and cheerfully to bear up against adversity. It would be invidious, perhaps, to do more than merely allude to other individuals better known to myself, who, in spite of most depressing circumstances—of long, cheerless days of ill-requited labour, of family cares and embarrassments, and of prospects enveloped in portentous gloom—manage nevertheless to make themselves acquainted with the prominent topics of the day; to acquire a variety of useful information; and, above all, to maintain inviolate their habits of independence and of virtue. That there are some persons of this description in our working population, is a fact to which I am happy to bear witness, and which is an honour worthy to be commemorated in the "simple annals of the poor." To see such a spirit of fortitude, and such a power of virtuous endurance, as are sometimes manifested in these circumstances, has often cheered my heart, and excited my wonder at the astonishing elasticity and resources of our common nature."—*Manchester Report*, pp. 35—38.

In following the leadings of his great subject, Mr. Layhe has touched upon two topics of deep and urgent importance. He thus expresses himself on the distribution of Public Charities:—

"One effect of this direction of public attention to the sufferings of the working classes has been, to set on foot subscriptions for their relief. It is not possible, however, in this way to do much for the alleviation of such wide-spread and long-enduring wretchedness. Charitable aid, if its objects be select, and its resources thoughtfully and judiciously administered, may, no doubt, palliate existing evils, but it can never supply all the wants of a population which is suffering from the loss of a regular and competent income. One important end, however, is answered by those who are in easy circumstances contributing a portion of their superfluities to the relief of their destitute fellow-beings. It convinces them, that the more opulent classes are not the heartless and selfish persons



they are sometimes said to be, but that among them may be found many of sympathizing and generous souls, who will not be content with saying unto the poor, 'Depart in peace, be ye warmed, and filled,' without giving them such things as they require.

"In reference to public charities, my own experience in the distribution of some of the proceeds of the Loyal Fund, suggested the following remarks:—From all I saw and heard in connection with this charity, I am more and more convinced of the extreme difficulty of administering public relief without injuring the habits of the recipients. In consequence of vague reports, exaggerated with almost every repetition, of the existence of a great subscription for the relief of the poor, expectations were excited amongst the working classes which could not all be gratified, the results of which have been envy, disappointment, discontent, and many other moral evils. Nearly all this might have been avoided, and much more good, both physical and moral, would, at the same time, have been effected, if an equal amount of money and labour had been judiciously expended in alleviating distress through the channels of individual and private agency. Nothing, indeed, can be an effectual substitute for personal inspection and personal exertions by those who, out of their abundance, or their competence, throw their contributions into the treasury of the poor. Without this intercourse, both the givers and receivers of charitable donations forfeit some important advantages which were within their reach, since there is less scope, in respect to both, for the exercise and reciprocation of those good feelings which might have been called into vigorous operation, and would have been a mutual blessing of the highest value. In the present state of society, what is wanted quite as much in a moral view, as food, clothing, bedding, and other necessities are in a material view, is an interchange of thought, sympathy, and personal good offices between the richer and poorer classes in the community. Until by some means or other, this is brought about, there will never, I fear, be much unanimity of mind, or cordiality of feeling between them. And I would earnestly entreat all such as wish to exercise great influence over the poor for their moral and social good, to associate with their humbler brethren as frequently as possible on easy and friendly terms, assuring them, that the readiest way to a man's heart, and very often to his understanding, is to enter into his house, and participate in his interests and his cares."—*Manchester Report*, pp. 41—43.

So many and so great are the evils resulting from the unreflecting distribution of subscriptions and funds for the relief of the Poor, that few subjects appear to us to stand more in need of investigation. In numbers of cases, we believe, the distribution of such relief works for little but evil. The loudest are first heard; the present are chiefly thought of: but the loudest too commonly are they, who have the least claims to be attended to; and the present are often those, whom success will only confirm in habits of sloth, dependency, and imposture. We believe that large subscriptions are often collected and dispersed,



not only without any proportional benefit to the poor, but with a substantial and enduring deposit of evil. The true sufferers are they, who do "not strive nor cry, neither doth any man hear their voice in the streets." Fictitious misery is talkative and obtrusive; real, heartfelt, and life-shortening misery, hides its pallid face, and wipes its tears in silence. The true objects of charity do not seek, but are to be sought; and most earnestly would we enter our protest with Mr. Layhe's against the continuance of a system, which, upon admitted principles and authentic facts, must and will act, as long as it shall last, as a bounty upon vice and as a penalty upon virtue.

The other subject referred to is that of Emigration. We are glad that there is such a safety-valve opened, and should think the attempt to close it equally unjustifiable and hazardous. But we cannot consider Expatriation is a thing in itself desirable. We would try all resources before it. Convinced as we are, that the country contains ample means in its bosom for the maintenance and comfort of all that are tempted to leave it, we contemplate with pain the drafting-off of our labourers and artizans, to seek homes in lands "which neither they nor their fathers had known." Feelings, uneradicable from our nature (and which we ought not to desire to eradicate), make us revolt from this measure, even when it has the stern excuse of necessity. They, therefore, to whom it appears to have no such apology, may be forgiven for deeming it a very exceptionable and empirical remedy for a very complicated state of social and political disease. There is surely much untried in the way of Internal Colonization. Immense fields might be opened to industry in every part of these kingdoms. And we believe they would amply repay it. We have always derived real hope from a truism of our own device, that *nothing but impossibility is impossible*. Think what Jewish industry once made of the rocks of Palestine. Think what Flemish industry has made of the fens of Holland. Why should not equal changes be wrought upon the waste lands of our country? Why is Dartmoor still a desert? But we do not confine ourselves to the waste lands alone. We are even willing to leave them out of the question. How much more might be made of the estates of our landed proprietors, by adopting (as some noblemen and gentlemen are now happily doing) the system of allotments, in one or both of its forms—the less or the greater—with or without cottages! Let emigration be resorted to only as a last resource when all other plans have been tried and have failed. Let us not lighten the state-vessel, by throwing *the crew* overboard. They give value to the cargo. But we must not permit ourselves to

enter further into this subject at present. We will only beg attention to the temperate and judicious remarks of the Manchester Minister to the Poor:—

“Amongst the remedial means at present in existence, emigration has undoubtedly done something for our dense and distressed population. During the past year, considerable numbers have left their native land to settle in other regions, and but for the unfavourable accounts which have arrived from several of the great fields of colonization, many more, in all probability, would have gone out. Others, again, have been detained at home against their will for want of the means of transit for themselves and their families; and some have been driven by extremities, to expatriate themselves, in want of all things and without their wives and children. I have known some cases of this kind, and heard of many others. One instance of this sort, in which the family are left in great difficulty in consequence of the mother having in her charge several young children, and amongst them an infant, has recently come under my notice, and will, I fear, involve much hardship and misery. Nor is it possible for a considerate mind to contemplate the prospects of many emigrants—unfitted as they are by previous habits and privations for contending against the difficulties of a new position—without feeling anxiety about the result. In our own country, indeed, the present distress may be alleviated, in some degree, by means of emigration, but unless conducted on a much more gigantic scale than it has hitherto been, it will scarcely remove the annual additions which are made to our population. While, therefore, I rejoice to see so many escaping from the privations to which they are here doomed, when they can do so without incurring greater evils, and whilst I would give every encouragement to that honourable enterprise which at once diminishes competition at home, and creates new demands and new markets abroad, I anxiously look for some more comprehensive, prompt, and feasible measure as an antidote to the depression of trade and the sufferings of our country. And I cannot help thinking, that what above all things is wanted, is the application of practical Christianity to all the enactments of government, all the institutions of society, and all the interests of life.”—*Manchester Report*, pp. 45, 46.

With becoming frankness and simplicity, Mr. Layhe refers to the *desiderata* of his Mission. We trust that, in every point, the appeal will be successful:—

“I have now endeavoured to delineate some of the most important aspects of the Ministry to the Poor, and its principal operations during the past year, but am as sensible as any one can be of the imperfection of these sketches, and of all my services. I feel very strongly the great need in which I stand of your counsel and co-operation. I am but a particle in the great mass of population aggregated in this town—a unit amidst some hundreds of thousands of fellow-beings; and I entreat you, therefore, to strengthen my hands, excite my energies, and multiply my

agency by your own exertions. In justice to my own convictions, and for the information of those who are anxiously inquiring how they may best promote the objects of this Ministry, permit me in conclusion, very briefly and plainly, to specify what may be considered the desiderata of the mission.

“First of all, and above all, we want more of the personal inspection and countenance of the friends and supporters of the Ministry. They have given us their attention and interest—they have unstrung for us their purses—and they have nobly responded to our appeals for support. But we who ply the machinery which you have thus put in operation, are few in number, and need reinforcement; harrassed with difficulties, and need encouragement; liable to err, and need your judicious supervision. If our kind friends would favour us with frequent visits to our school and attendance at our religious services, they would very much stimulate and encourage the teachers, add greatly to our influence, and infuse new life and vigour into all our beneficial operations. Like the man of Macedonia, who appeared in vision to Paul, we therefore say to you, and beg of you, ‘Come over and help us.’

“In the second place, I say emphatically, that we want a building solemnly and sacredly devoted to the worship of God, and the religious instruction of his rational creatures. Free from every degrading and every secular association, this would always form a sanctuary for the devotional affections of the poor—a central point from which Christian influence might direct its operations on the surrounding neighbourhood, and a visible medium of connexion and intercourse for believers in the unity and impartial goodness of the Father of their spirits. Give us this, and then we should assume an attitude more decidedly religious—the place would be consecrated to the spirit of humble piety—Christianity, which hallows and ennobles every mind which it enters, might there exert its unalloyed influences on penitence and suffering—and over the threshold of such a temple might be inscribed as its motto and distinction, ‘To the poor the gospel is preached.’

“Thirdly, it appears to me very desirable that the most exemplary members of our Sunday School should sometimes be encouraged by appropriate literary rewards, and your assistance is needed for the effecting of this purpose. Valuable offerings indeed have, at different times, been presented to the School Library, but it has occurred to me, that some of the friends of the Ministry to the Poor may have useful juvenile or other works, or duplicates of such works, in which they have ceased to take an interest, and for which they have no use, that would be particularly acceptable to an exemplary teacher or scholar as a reward of merit, or an important acquisition to the library. I have sometimes regretted my own inability thus to encourage orderly, studious, and benevolent habits, and feel persuaded that, in this way, those who have the means might, at a small expense, do much for that which yields to nothing in importance—the cause of intellectual and Christian education.

“Lastly, lest I should seem to be too ambitious and presuming, I may briefly remind my Christian friends, though that is scarcely neces-



sary, how they may all contribute something to the material comforts of the poor, and the moral influence of their Minister. There is not an individual in any of our congregations who may not do much, and I trust there is none who does not attempt to do something, to alleviate the distress of our industrial population. If in such efforts any to whom this Report is presented need an agent, and cannot obtain a more efficient one, I hope they will use me. Nor need such persons be fastidious in withholding articles because they are not so good as might be wished. In the different grades of humble life, there are ample scope and demand for a wide variety of contributions. The most valuable of all donations would be well-remunerated employment, and something, perhaps, might be done in this way for men of good tact and character." *Manchester Report*, pp. 60—63.

The last sentence in this extract is not of the *least* importance. If some plan could be organized for providing the unemployed with employment, it would be of unspeakable usefulness, as an aid to the Ministry to the Poor. Relief so administered would be free from all objection. To the extent to which it would be carried, it would render other relief unnecessary. There would be cases, indeed, to which it could not apply; but it would leave the Minister free to act with regard to such cases, as he could only have been enabled to act by seeing them thus set apart from all others. We should rejoice to see this hint wrought out into some tangible form. In America, we understand, such a plan is connected with all similar Ministries; but we are aware that the circumstances of the two countries are so different, as to place institutions for the same objects upon very unequal footings. Still we cannot but think, that some information thence obtained might be so modified and accommodated to the state of things among us, as to allow of some immediate good results, with a gradual opening for more. We earnestly wish we could draw some practical attention to this suggestion.

When we began the drawing-up of these notes, we were fully persuaded that we were in possession of a copy of the last year's Report of every one of the English Ministries to the Poor. We grieve to find, that *that* of the Birmingham Ministry (which should come the next in order) has been lent or mislaid. It is now too late to replace it, for we write with the sound of the press in our ears. This is a real disappointment to us, as we had depended upon it for the extraction of much that we had read with the warmest interest and approbation. The Birmingham Minister to the Poor (for we shun the use of the word *Missionary*, steeped as it is in the gall of sectarian bitterness and narrow-mindedness) is the Rev. F. Bowring, who has written several approved educational books, and who has recently pub-



lished a more extensive work of the historico-theological kind. Such a man is qualified for no ordinary task ; and a work has fallen to him, happily for himself and for others, in which *he* will always be the most successful who unites the most various knowledge with the widest love. We are sorry to be obliged thus unexpectedly to pass in silence Mr. Bowring's account of the transactions of his Ministry during the past year. In searching for it, we have, however, lighted upon his *first* Report ;—from the address appended to which, as having been delivered at its presentation, we give the following paragraph, as calculated to set in a clear view the Minister's own impression—surely a beautiful and correct one—of the nature and influences of the Ministry, to which he has since rendered such extensive service. We regret to be able to do no more.

“ This is a great work,—needing no laboured description, no pomp of language, to set it forth ; it is a work, the importance of which should deeply impress every one who has a heart to feel and a mind to judge, and which, from its very nature, should require no enticing words of man's wisdom to excite attention. It is a work to which the love of Christ should constrain all who term themselves his disciples, and rejoice in the salvation he has brought : for each one may do something to promote its success, and the Missionary is nothing, and feels that he can accomplish nothing, if he meets not with co-operation,—if he is left to follow his occupation, alone, unaided by the exertions of those around him, uncheered whilst walking in his solitary path, unthought of amidst the din and hurry of the busy world in which he is compelled to move.

“ The poor have great and peculiar claims on the followers of the Saviour. He made them the principal objects of his mission—he emphatically declared, that to *them* the gospel was preached ; but, from his times to the present, even his professed disciples have not had his faith, his mind, with respect of persons : all have had too much reason to say that, whilst the poor have been always with them, Jesus, the love of Jesus, has not been with them. Too much have they been neglected, and their claims set at nought. The very phrases by which they have been designated—‘ *the common people,*’ ‘ *the lower orders,*’—have savoured of anything rather than the Christian principle. The injunction to ‘ honour all men,’ has been practically disregarded ; the proud man's contumely has borne them to the earth,—the pride of caste has prevented man from meeting man, as a brother, as the child of one common father, the disciple of a common master, the heir of a common salvation. Oppression, and insult, and contempt, have induced degradation of feeling, and brought about most of the physical and moral evils which affect the poor, and which are eating, like a canker, into the heart of civil society. The whole head is sick and the whole heart is faint because of them ; and if some great and searching remedy be not speedily found, from the sole of the foot even unto the crown of the head, there will be no soundness. We know that, as human nature

is constituted, there is no probability that the poor will speedily, if at all, cease from the land. This world is a state of discipline, a scene of probation, whose objects and pleasures were never intended to satisfy the longings of an immortal spirit. It seems to be an essential part of the scheme of Divine Providence, that there should be many gradations in human life—that numbers should be exercised by the severest trials. We believe in no Utopia, no community where an equality of outward circumstances shall prevail; we imagine that no surer method to depress the energies of the mind, and to take away all stimulus to active exertions for the benefit of others, as well as all motives to personal virtue, holiness, and spirituality of mind, could be devised. We rejoice in the conviction, that the world is under the government of a Being who must do all things well, and who is causing all the events of life to issue in good to those who love him; and with this strong, abiding faith, we are not troubled, though all be dark around us. But, my Christian brethren, these considerations should powerfully influence our conduct with regard to the redemption of the world from the bondage of ignorance and vice, and from misery the most appalling and heart-rending, resulting from these dreadful evils. We are, in such a work, labourers together with God; He works chiefly by secondary causes, and, as it concerns the welfare of our race, by human agency: He has bound man to man by the pleasant ties of brotherhood and by a common nature; we are each our brother's keeper, and he best fulfils the purposes of his being—best serves God, and best performs his duty—who loves his neighbour as himself, and is ever careful to promote his comfort and edification.

“There are those who cannot help themselves;—whose early disadvantages—whose want of the elements of instruction—whose position in society—whose habits, and views, and feelings, effectually preclude the faintest attempt at self-culture and self-discipline; who live in the very heart of an intellectual and highly-cultivated community, like the Pariah caste among the Hindoos; who have no moral strength, and who must, from the very nature of the case, sink yet lower in the scale, unless a friendly hand is held out to them, to raise them: and for such persons, low and degraded though they be, the Domestic Mission is especially designed.

“The term *Domestic Mission* at once points out the object for which it is instituted. It is by going about from house to house; by friendly domestic visits; by religious conversation; by reading, by prayer;—to endeavour to convince our brethren that though they may be poor in this world's goods, they can still be rich in faith, and be heirs of the promises;—it is to arouse the slumbering conscience; to bid its possessor awake, that Christ may give him light;—it is to tell of a Father in Heaven, who graciously regards all his children, who has made of one blood all nations of men, who ‘is no respecter of persons,’ who hears the prayers of the lowly, who is waiting to be merciful to the most sinful, who rejects none who come to him with penitence and sincerity of heart;—it is to make them feel that they have an interest in the Saviour's love and redemption; that they also can come to him, though

weary of the world and heavy laden with their iniquities, and that he will give rest to their souls ;—it is to exhort them to be reconciled to God ; to induce them to break the power of evil habits, and to forego vicious indulgences ; to help them to subdue the animal man, by placing before them nobler objects of pursuit.

“ In this honourable, and, to me, increasingly delightful occupation, I have been engaged during the last nine months ; with what degree of success none of us, my friends, are at present permitted fully to know. One result is, I trust, obvious : that of attendance on the services at the Mission Chapel on Sunday evenings, which, from not more than thirty at first, now averages full ninety ; and we have sometimes had as many as a hundred and twenty, and principally of that class who have seldom or never attended any place of worship. This to me is most cheering, and it must be equally so to all who have the success of the Mission at heart ; and it is to my view a pleasing feature in the case, that I constantly see the same faces ; which shows that an interest is felt in the services. This is a result open to the eyes of all. I necessarily see many more results than any one besides ; results which cannot be always detailed, but which are not the less real ; and I am convinced that very much good is done which I cannot witness now, and perhaps in this life never.”—*Birmingham Report*, (1840,) pp. 18—21.

The Bristol Ministry to the Poor has been entrusted to the modest and able hands of the Rev. James Bayley. The Third Report of that Ministry is now before us. It is, however, the least satisfactory of them all. This is not the fault of the Minister, but of the plan. The Report, though of course derived substantially from his written and oral statements, is yet drawn up, not by him, but for him ; and we lose therefore the pleasure and the benefit of hearing his own account of his own experiences. This is to us a very great loss. No superiority (even supposing that there were any) of literary execution could compensate to us for the silence of the *One Voice*, to which we are desirous of listening. We earnestly hope, that, at no distant time, the Reports of this Ministry will be drawn up by the faithful hand of the Minister. He is fully capable of writing the despatches of his own campaigns. There is no power of attorney which can communicate one man's experiences through another. The Minister is the proper historian of the Ministry ; and we trust that, in the Report of another year, we shall find him giving a personal narrative of his labours.

We subjoin the following passage, because it contains a brief extract from one of the unpublished Reports of this amiable and useful Minister. Read in connection with the note which is attached to it, the passage may set us “ in the spirit ” by the mysterious waters of forgottenness, and point out to us the troubled workings with which the angel-presence is mingling,



shedding purity and peace, to show that the power of Heaven has been there:—

“ In concurrence, accordingly, with this general experience, your Committee with pain observe, that they have been led to impressions of a similar kind from the tenor, and occasionally the *emphatic* character, of the information afforded by your Missionary. In the latest report received from Mr. Bayley, he uses these words,—‘ The confirmed habits of vice, and the unfavourable circumstances of the poor, from want of sufficient employment, seem in many instances to baffle all efforts. I have seen some who appeared to be improving,—who seemed more comfortable in their homes, and more moral in their conduct; but from want of employment, they have sunk again into indigence, and ceased to exert their energies, in despair of improving their condition.’ It is impossible not to perceive how unfavourably such a state of things must operate upon the labours of a religious teacher, and your Missionary observes, in the report to which reference has just been made, that a poor man a short time ago told him plainly, that ‘ he considered it insulting for gentlemen to talk of religion to the distressed poor.’

“ If such indeed were to be the result of your Missionary’s efforts in any large number of cases, when fairly tried and perseveringly exerted, we might well begin to despair.\* But let us hope more favourably of our nature, under its darkest aspect; and let us never admit that the divine religion of a Saviour, who reveals to us tidings of a more just, more holy and happy world than this, is incapable of administering balm to the troubled spirit, or light in the darkest hours of human distress.”—*Bristol Report*, p. 9.

We had wished and intended to take no notice of the last Report of the Liverpool Ministry to the poor. The request, however, of a Friend, whose request is deservedly influential, has made us so far alter this design, as to give a few extracts from that paper, expressive of the views which the writer takes of his work, and through which alone it is his deepening conviction that any high Christian success can be attained or expected.

“ In all my intercourse with my people, it has been my anxious and unsuspended wish to avoid every thing that might draw upon my work the suspicion of selfish or sectarian ends. The task demanded a labourer who was emancipated at least from all spiritual narrow-mindedness and bitterness. I say not (I wish I *could* say) that I have been so privileged

\* “ Such, it is believed, will not often be the result of continued, well-directed, and benevolent efforts, to overcome evil with good. In this instance, Mr. Bayley stated, in his address at the Annual Meeting of the Mission, that the man referred to has since cordially welcomed him to his humble dwelling as a friend, and gladly listened to the religious instruction which he imparted; and that he has seen the tear of gratitude stealing down his cheek whilst he has been conversing with him. One is reminded in this connexion of the Apostolic admonition,—‘ Be not weary in well-doing, for in due season ye shall reap, if ye faint not.’ ”



as to escape the suspicion of having uncatholic objects in view. There are and will be those, who, having few others themselves, cannot imagine the possibility of a brother's being unactuated by them. I have only corrected misapprehensions, by adhering inflexibly to the principles, very early professed, and never intentionally or knowingly violated. I might have *seemed* to do more by taking the opposite course. But I felt that I had received a very different commission; and I rejoice to say, that I have of late met with very much less that is painful, and that more general light is resting upon the workman and his work. In quarters where I have formerly met with open or secret opposition, I have now little to complain of; and if there are quarters in which this antagonism still exists and operates, I can only regard it as a part of my discipline in the cause, and, by the spirit in which I meet and struggle with it, I should measure my own growing fitness or unfitness to carry it on.

"If your hearts, my friends, had been set upon proselytizing, you would have fixed upon another Missionary, and sent him forth with a very different charge. My ample and noble commission has been **TO DO ALL POSSIBLE GOOD**; and this I have endeavoured to act up to, as far as my powers and means would permit. Had I met with no resistance from the spirit of religious or political exclusiveness, I might have been of wider service than has yet, at least, been in my power. But I have had much to overcome, to complain of, which would have been as weak as it would have been idle; and, in many cases, my work has been more that of the ploughman than of the sower. If it yet be asked, where is the harvest? I reply, it is always *coming*—it never *comes*. It is silently going on in particular cases—it never shows—it never will show itself—in any general outbreak of social and spiritual regeneration."—*Liverpool Report*, pp. 16, 17.

The conclusion of the same paper points out some of the obstacles (none of them so local as not to be also general) which lie in the way of this great and good undertaking; and reminds us of the principles, of which it was born, and of the hopes into which it is baptized:—

"The impression produced by the few last paragraphs will be one, I trust, of awakened faith in the principle, that no attempts at high service among our fellow-creatures are, or can be, thrown away. That, in this case, they have not been more widely or deeply successful, must be justly imputed in part to the imperfections of the individual agent, but is referable also in part, and that no inconsiderable or unimportant one, to many things, which operate upon the working classes most unfavourably for their virtue and happiness. The defective state of the laws which respect them—the incommodiousness, unwholesomeness, and secrecy of many of their dwellings—the indifference of a multitude of employers as to the conduct or comfort of their labourers—the undue encouragement of mendicity, and the influence of misguided charities—the lukewarm apostleship of the cause of education among them—the number and the allurements of the dram-shops and ale-houses, and of

other places of evil resort—the gross defects of our criminal jurisprudence, followed up by those of our prison discipline, with regard perhaps to *all* offenders, but most glaringly and destructively towards the young in years and in crime—the want of proper places and means of recreation—and (may I be allowed to add?) the instigations and influences of religious and political faction, which are here so vigilantly active to keep up these unhappy differences, which it needs but kind language and generous conduct to destroy,—these are things, my friends, which stand strongly and sternly in the way of any speedy realization of those delightful and *eventually* undeceptive visions, the very passage of which through the heart leaves behind it a noble glow, and in the attempt to substantiate which the friends of the poor are but the instruments of God's love in working out the predicted issues of His Word. If true to your high objects—(and here, my friends, I speak not of this Mission only, but of all the plans in which you are severally engaged in doing good, in which I have no part or portion but the pleasure,)—if true to those objects, there will yet be a time when the issues of our FATHER'S Providence will associate with the seeds you are now sowing in faith, and hope, and love, a share of His earthly harvest, and a sheaf in His heavenly harvest-home. We have all the encouragement we need, if we suffer not the inward to quail before the outward. Everything that has raised or blessed humanity has been done by the reverse of this—the subjugation of the outward to the inward. The first and best of examples is always on our side. CHRISTIANITY ITSELF WAS ONCE A SPARK IN THE LONELY HEART OF A PEASANT OF GALILEE.”—*Liverpool Report*, pp. 24—26.

A collective review of the documents which have now been claiming our notice—or even of the extracts, which have been severally made from them—may, we think, suffice to convince those who take it, that a great work has been, not only commenced, but carried on for a number of years, which, by the simplest and most hallowed machinery, is working out issues of high and unquestionable good. Every reader of these reports, or of the passages which here represent them, must be struck by the *tone* in which they are written. No differences of temperament or acquirement in the writers affect them in this particular. They are equally free from despondency and ostentation. They exhibit the same composed attention to the one point of giving the truth, and trusting to it for its consequences. This is the very spirit in which such papers should be written. Simplicity, in such cases, is both policy and power. We rejoice to see how uniformly these records refer us to men more anxious to enlighten by facts than to take advantage of feelings; and who, wishing to found all they do upon the solid basis of principle, put from them, with quiet contempt, the language of fanaticism and sentimentality.

In five of our great cities, this experiment has now been going on for a greater or less length of time, but with one and the same impression on those who have associated for the trial of it—and that is, of its eminent usefulness, and unobtrusive, but decided and gratifying success. We would ask, if this can be said of many other institutions, which have been working with it during the same period? Are *their* supporters as well satisfied with the results obtained by them? We do not ask this with any invidious design, but simply to show that there is no necessary connection between assistance given to a philanthropic object, and the satisfied assurance of philanthropic success. This last must be won before it can be worn; and the institution which obtains and preserves it, is of course entitled to superior consideration and confidence. The Ministry to the Poor,—though as yet tried on so small a scale, in comparison with the existing mass of Neglectedness and Distress,—has yet results to produce, which may entitle it to rank among the most successful of the expedients that Christian Benevolence has yet devised, to check the increase of human sin, and to reduce the amount of human misery.

The Christian World, we trust, will one day be more widely and practically aware of the advantages of this institution. Its recommendations are as unique as they should be irresistible. It is doing good upon a plan purely evangelical and apostolical. Born in a cottage, Christianity here returns to it: consummated on a cross, it deals with those who have need of all that the cross can do to comfort, to enlighten, and to save them. We hope the time is coming, when every city in the empire will have its Ministry to the Poor; and we hope that the time will never come, when workmen will be wanting to the work, as long as the internal retrogressions of civilization shall need the meek self-devotion of wise and good men to reclaim them.

It is a striking circumstance in the histories of these different Ministries to the Poor, that, no sooner were the plans organized, no sooner was the work proposed, than labourers were found, who were willing and able, not only to undertake it, but to carry it energetically forward. This appears to us to be a very encouraging recollection. It is not a task that requires any mysterious or romantic qualifications. It will never be at a stand for want of efficient labourers. The brightest talents and the highest acquirements may, indeed, find (as they *have* found) ample scope for exercise in this free and boundless service. But native good feeling and sound good sense, firm Christian faith and earnest Christian love, are the only qualifications essential to competent success; and these, though differing in-

finitely in their comparative combinations, are, fortunately, of no rare occurrence in such combinations as will be sufficient. The choice once made, the Minister should be restricted to no particular plan of operations. He should be left free to accommodate his services to the peculiar local circumstances of the people for whose benefit they are designed. In his Reports, he should be only governed by his own feelings of duty and discretion. They should not be made of burdensome frequency. There should be no ungenerous prescriptions of certain forms or kinds of communication. He should not be expected to define the spiritual by the numerical. Set nobly free himself, he should feel himself sent forth "to proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that were bound;" nor should occasional failure be darkened, or imperfect success embittered, by any want of confidence in the affectionate sympathy of those who sent him forth, in the name of their common Lord, to do the Work of Light in the dark places of the world. A Ministry to the Poor, meetly organized and supported, must do good *of necessity*, by the laws of Religion and of Nature.

J. J.



ART. II.—LETTERS FROM HOFWYL, BY A PARENT,  
OR, THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF M. DE  
FELLENBERG. London: Longman and Co. 1842.

WE have too long delayed noticing this book, which, for various reasons, possesses much interest for us.

Education has become one of the chief topics of the day; a demand for a wider and sounder education for the young, of all classes, is growing; and as the discussion has gone on, and the various experiments which have been made have resulted in partial success or failure, the true principles on which ultimate progress is to be looked for, have become more manifest and better understood.

For the very youngest of the poorer and working classes, Infant Schools have been established, and carried on to a far greater proportionate degree of perfection than perhaps any of the public institutions now existing. A child leaving the infant school, often finds itself thrown back in the higher one, or, at least, does not meet that care, intelligence, and general treatment which ought to be the sequel to the earlier training; we speak of course generally, for exceptions there are, and increasing in number. The systems, however, of Bell and Lancaster, have, in many places, become means of regular drill, or systematic teaching, but of very inferior education in the true sense of the word; the unassisted monitorial plan is found not to be sufficient, hence the origin of various experiments of the day, by the church and the government, and the various proposals for training or normal schools. It is acknowledged that teachers are not always educators, or those men the best schoolmasters who have been proved unfit for any other business. The mass of ignorance and poverty in the land at once calls loudly for exertion, and offers a fair field, it would seem, to all kinds of educational experiments, and the result in many parts of the country, bids fair to be, that the son of the pauper will, in all substantial things, be better educated than those in ranks several stages above. A pressure, sooner or later, will thus be exerted from below, the good results of which will be felt through every grade of society.

The same want and deficiency has been felt in other ranks, and some progress made to supply it; hence have sprung Proprietary schools—the revival and extension of old institutions, the improvement of private schools: and though we cannot say

much has been actually done as a whole, yet there is certainly great preparation made for improvement.

A change, which has been much needed, in the whole view of schools and schoolmasters, is gradually taking place. It consists in the increasing importance attached to the character, position, and rank of the Educator; the appreciation of the influence schools may and should have on character—the necessity, therefore, of a sound moral atmosphere around the pupil. In short, the feeling is growing, that it is not sufficient for the masters of schools, especially public ones, to attend only to the teaching, *i.e.*, the cramming of certain knowledge into the memory, while the character is left to be formed by the boy for himself, in the play-ground. Schools have been hitherto deemed a sort of small worlds, and, as the phrase is, the boy must learn to fight his way through them; they should be made the scenes for calling out, training, and exercising the faculties and virtues of the mind; where the individual character shall be formed or moulded by a careful attention and judicious treatment, and which shall be active, as well in the hours of lighter occupation as in the seasons of study.

On all these points Fellenberg's life and career will be found deserving of the greatest attention, and to be of the greatest practical importance. We believe, indeed, that at this moment, his views and exertions are producing a much wider effect than is generally suspected. In his own country, many of his opponents have gradually adopted some of his views, and acted partially in his plans; and in our own country, many of the improvements to be found in the conduct of schools, are to be traced ultimately to Hofwyl. His principles have penetrated, unconsciously, into many quarters that would have shrunk from the suspicion of adopting any thing on the authority of one, often considered so doubtful an innovator. Some, perhaps, of these improvements, were already commencing, through that process whereby a great and universal evil or want, causes several minds to approach the same theory and method of remedy and supply; but when the heads of the pauper schools under the Government of England openly express their great obligations to Fellenberg's instructions and operations, for the success of their own attempts, and when more than one government has sent inspectors to report on his plan, we must see, that besides the silent gradual spread of his principles, which of itself has been great, there has been a more direct impulse given by him to the progress of improvement.

M. de Fellenberg, then, has advanced far beyond the school of Pestalozzi, though he may be looked upon as succeeding to

the place and influence of that remarkable man. He has a more profound knowledge of human nature, with greater power of bringing his philosophical views to bear upon practical details, and the action of his system on individuals.

The object he places before the educator is "to develop all the faculties of our nature, physical, intellectual and moral, and to endeavour to train and unite them into one harmonious system, which shall form the most perfect character of which the individual is capable, and thus prepare him for every period and sphere of action to which he may be called." (App. p. 237.) He holds, as contrary to nature and the plan of God, any system which shall attempt to force all characters into one mould,—to make the school a mere coining machine, stamping all with the name of the manufacturer: the educator's object is, "to develop, guide, direct the faculties given by God in the modes in which our common nature universally tends, and in those which are pointed out by the peculiarities of each individual." Any other system is mere empiricism, or mechanical teaching, alike imperfect in agency and mischievous in result. This is a manifest fundamental truth; yet how many schools are there conducted on this principle? How many educators who have understood and studied the science to which it relates, in a manner to fit them for their posts? Take the confined scope of education required by our universities, as such, the preponderance of mathematics in the one, and of classics in the other, (as it still is, and was still more a few years ago,) our public schools with their continual mill-round of grammar and lexicon; or the average of schools for other classes, with their Greek, Latin, arithmetic, algebra to quadratics, geometry, a book or two, and use of the globes, that crown of all advertisements,—and where is the sign of a true understanding of the subject, either of the science or the practice of education? The poor Irishman was at least more modest, in the Liverpool cellar, who when asked if he taught morals, replied that he did not pretend to do more than he was paid for, but of course he told the boys to be good, and do as they were bid, and all that sort of thing; but teachers of more pretensions, if as honest, are, it is to be feared, as yet much immersed in quackery and ignorance; they teach for living more than live to teach; they follow it as an occupation, but have not the science or the feeling of the profession: and, indeed, how should they, when the educator is yet so little estimated, and the whole subject as yet only beginning to rise, from a mere mercantile position, to its true stand as one of the noblest and most important of professions?



The importance of elevating the profession of the educator in all respects, both as to public estimation and as to the qualifications necessary for it, is however occupying more of public attention than formerly; in M. Fellenberg and his establishment, the subject stands out as the main feature. Never was there a more striking case of the principle that it is the man and not the system only, which ensures success; the chief difficulty has been to secure individuals animated by the same high views as himself; and the greatest precautions are taken to prevent the contact of inferior minds with the characters of the pupils. The teachers are masters of various branches of knowledge,—are teachers and no more,—they do their duty in their departments, but the education of the character is placed under minds fitted for a much higher department, and these are found as active in the play-ground as in the school; they live with and among the pupils, and operate by the myriad daily unconstrained influences of private life and social friendly intercourse, as by direct instruction and formal training. M. Fellenberg's practical arrangements may seem excessive to some, but they at least present this principle most vividly as of the first importance.

In reading the narrative in the book before us, either respecting the domestic habits of Hofwyl or the principles on which it is founded, it is impossible not to see how the influence of a master mind is sent silently and actively through the whole machinery of the system; and so it should be, but seldom is, in all schools. The most cumbrous system of regulations may thus be animated with life; a moral influence exerted almost in the merest trifle, and yet without the slightest weariness, constraint or force; without it the best of systems and most perfect of arrangements will be dead, burdensome and worthless. Fellenberg seems a remarkable living example of this power. This spirit and faculty of the true educator is evidently not one to be assumed suddenly, or to be found in every one, but demands great self-discipline, high character and experience; it may seem too much to expect, but only such as possess it are worthy to be at the head of institutions for education, and others must take their place, and the rest have their value, rather as teachers of single branches of knowledge, than to be entrusted with the office of forming and guiding character, which they neither comprehend, nor are able to command. Fellenberg has found great difficulty in infusing his own spirit into others about him, but we cannot avoid directing our readers to the interesting and bright instance of success in Wehrli, the founder of the rural school in Hofwyl; who as a young man devoted himself to the



work of training the peasant youth of his country, lived with and as they do, shared in their board and bed, in order to educate them both for their position in life and with a view to their higher characters. It would seem to us that in an expedition to Switzerland, a pilgrimage to visit Wehrli at his work should be an essential object to every one desirous of seeing noble devotedness to a great work, and most singular simplicity and power of character.

The immediate action on the pupils arising from the system of Hofwyl is that the school becomes more the home; that is, there is a care, moral influence and deep attachment found more analogous to the feelings of home; this feeling is perhaps often found in private schools, where the smaller numbers and greater intelligence of the teacher has allowed a closer connection to be formed; but it is seldom if ever found in the public school. As the general rule there is a spirit of hostility between master and boys, school work is done as a task; and in play, books and intellectual recreation are avoided. This, which so frequently marks the spirit of English schools, could scarcely exist at Hofwyl, or any institution conducted on similar principles. It is Fellenberg's honour and distinction to have proved by example that the same constant, natural, and watchful influence may exist in the public schools (and in the school for any rank), as lives in the home, or the best private institution. The intention, and, if we trust the "Letter from Hofwyl," the result of Fellenberg's system is, that the pupils learn to feel the law is not against but above them; their characters are formed, their consciences reached, guided, without feeling under forcible restraint, or being kept constantly in leading strings. Some of the public schools in England are showing signs of improvement in these points of view, and only by these higher aims being more appreciated and demanded can the great evils which have marked nearly all of them, be removed.

On one point more only will we offer an observation, viz., on the religious spirit of Hofwyl. This subject is treated in the same simple and natural method in which all else is attempted.

All sects are found in the institutions; and Fellenberg, while endeavouring to implant a deep sense of religion on the minds of his pupils, avoids all the points of dispute between sects;—he rather aims at cherishing than impairing their attachment to the faith of their fathers; and all the peculiar views of the different parties are taught by clergymen of the different churches. In this mode a thorough and somewhat extensive acquaintance is given with Scripture, the history of the church, and natural and revealed religion, while no prejudices are wounded or

attacked, and the true, mild and genuine spirit of Christianity is left to work in the daily intercourse and habits of the institution. This adds another instance to those already existing, of the easy practical solution of that problem which English sects and churches are finding so difficult to arrange, and which priestcraft and bigotry are making the turning point of their insidious aims or hot animosities.

We have mentioned the chief principles for which M. Fellenberg's career and plan seems most remarkable and interesting: we recommend the book at the head of our article to those who wish to know his institutions more in detail. It consists of two nearly equal parts; the first, letters, evidently of a mother placing boys at Hofwyl, which let us very agreeably into the daily life; and second, of Mr. Woodbridge's "Sketches of Hofwyl," formerly published in the *Annals of Education*, which contain the most clear and detailed account of the principles and plans on which this remarkable man proceeded in the establishment of his institution. Whether England will see a Hofwyl within its own shores we cannot say:—that an establishment exactly like it would succeed in this country is perhaps doubtful, but much is it to be desired that the spirit of Fellenberg might be caught by some in this country, for a nobler object for English wealth, enterprize and philanthropy cannot easily be imagined. That Fellenberg has given a living example, in a clear and definite form, of the great principles of education, we are sure, and whether his institution survives or not, is imitated or not, the world will owe to him gratitude of the deepest kind,—and would gain much by more fully understanding and knowing what and how he has accomplished.

ART. III.—PASSAGES IN THE LIFE OF A RADICAL.  
By SAMUEL BAMFORD. Third Edition. Printed for the  
Author. (Heywood.)

THESE memoirs extend over a period of six years, commencing with the end of the year 1815, and concluding with the termination of the author's imprisonment in Lincoln Castle (the sixth place of his confinement for political offences) in the year 1821.

The prospects of the friends of political and religious freedom were never, perhaps, more gloomy than during this period;—The public burdens consequent upon the lavish expenditure during the war were at their height;—The generous devotion with which Catholic blood had been poured forth in that protracted struggle had purchased from an ungrateful and bigotted administration no relaxation of Catholic disabilities;—The dissenters groaned under the Test and Corporation acts;—The Spy system (the most demoralizing engine ever employed by an unpopular government to prop the fabric of its power) was in full vigour; Reynolds, "of infamous memory," had received the wages of his treacherous atrocities in successive appointments, in Portugal, in the Post-office in Dublin, and lastly, in a pension and a consul-generalship, leaving his character to the protection of Lord Castlereagh, once Colonel Robert Stewart, of the Irish volunteers, whose own political tergiversation had not been unaccompanied by personal treachery,\* whilst the foul mantle which cloaked his iniquity descended upon the shoulders of Castle and Oliver, who, with their inferior agents Dewhurst, *alias* Michael Hall, Waddington, Lomax, Edwards, and a host of subordinates, returned convicts, deserters, and passers of forged notes, were extending the ramifications of their detestable conspiracy into the most remote corner of the land.† The betrayer

\* See Madden's United Irishman.

† Reynolds died at Paris in the year 1837. He passed the last three years of his life in close communication with, and professing the opinions of, those who arrogate to themselves the sole possession of Evangelical Truth, by whom he was declared to be "a precious proof of the unspeakable love of God." Whatever we may think of this, we are not disposed to dispute the correctness in his case of the description of "man's alienation from the life of God, the enmity of his mind by wicked works, the deceitfulness and desperate wickedness of his heart, the fruitful source of every thing that defileth;" which his panegyrist has applied to human nature in general. A more correct summary of the character of Thomas Reynolds could not well be framed.

A masterly sketch of the character of Reynolds appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* soon after his decease, which his biographer has reprinted, in order to make it the groundwork of an attack as impotent as it is virulent upon the character of a worthy man, a consistent and upright politician, an accomplished scholar, and an eloquent and logical writer, who has been connected with that journal for the greater part of the present century. See the *Life of Thomas Reynolds, by his Son*, vol. ii. pp. 499—505.

generally appeared in the character of a fugitive claiming the protection and hospitality of his intended dupe. The generous, the ardent, and the unsuspecting, those least likely to originate plots and conspiracies, were his readiest victims. Round the board which was spread with unaccustomed profusion to welcome him, expressions of indignant feeling, excited by his own story, were dropped, which enabled him to give a seditious, or even treasonable character to the meeting, and his unsuspecting entertainers found themselves in a few days in custody, under warrants which had the effect of *lettres de cachet*. The government had need of terrorism, and a plentiful crop of conspiracies, insurrections and executions was the fruit of the industry of their agents.—On the 9th of June 1817, Watson, Thistlewood, Preston, and Hooper, were arraigned for high treason. The principal witness against them was John Castle, the spy and approver.—Such was the detail of crimes committed by this man, (he had twice before turned king's evidence, and his fellow criminals had been hanged and transported on his testimony,) and such the vicious and degraded course of his life, extracted from him on cross-examination by Mr. Wetherell, that the jury unhesitatingly found Watson not guilty, and the charges against the other prisoners were withdrawn. On this occasion, Watson was defended by Mr. Serjeant Copley, with an ability which ensured his rise to the highest station in his profession. Within two years the radical reformer of the Midland Circuit was appointed to the office of Solicitor-General under a Tory Government.—Successively Attorney-General, Master of the Rolls, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and now for a second time Lord High Chancellor of England, he must look back upon his long career of almost uninterrupted success with feelings far different from those with which the associate and rival of his early career must contemplate the consistent and honourable course which, though it often seemed to shut him out from all prospect of advancement, has led him to the highest judicial eminence on the Common Law Bench. On the 25th of October following, Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam, who had fallen into the toils of Oliver, were tried, convicted, and executed at Derby. Thistlewood (untaught by his former escape) was again tried with Ings, Brunt, Tidd, and Davidson, for a plot, the atrocity of which was only equalled by its monstrous impracticability; but Sir John Copley, the Solicitor-General of 1820 had learnt a valuable lesson from Serjeant Copley of 1817. Edwards, “the sole promoter and instigator of the conspiracy,”\* was not exposed to share the fate of Castle, he was not put into the

\* Motion respecting George Edwards, Par. Deb., vol. i. p. 291.



witness-box, and the prisoners were found guilty. With the exception of Davidson they paid the forfeit of their lives, with a constancy which would have done honour to martyrs. A strong and well-founded suspicion that they fell victims to men who tempted to treason that they might afterwards reap the rewards of treachery, became prevalent in the public mind, and pity for the victims overpowered the detestation which was due to the maniacal ferocity of the purposed crime. Castle had overacted his part and had failed, he was therefore thrown overboard. Reynolds and Oliver found appropriate champions; Lord Castlereagh declared of the former, that he had "only one stain on his character that he knew of, his having been an Irish rebel, and that stain he had wiped off by giving up his confederates." Whilst Mr. Anthony Leigh Keck said, that "as to Oliver, his character stood higher than that of the class of men to whom he was described as belonging. He knew of no imputation against his moral character." All this might reasonably be expected, but subsequent events have made it worthy of especial note, that we find Henry Brougham, on the night of the 2nd of May 1820, declaring in the House of Commons, that "he by no means blamed Government for employing Edwards as a spy, for acting on his information, for withholding him as a witness upon the trials, or for abstaining from prosecuting him."\* The confession of so singular an obliquity of moral vision might have prepared the admirers of that extraordinary individual for the tortuous course he has since pursued. The system which was too foul for Caligula and Domitian, was employed by Sidmouth and Castlereagh, defended by Canning, and palliated by Brougham.

The Habeas Corpus was suspended;—The personal liberty of the subject was at the mercy of a minister, a justice, or an informer.—The press was fettered;—The constitutional right of meeting to petition was clipped and curtailed;—The privilege of each man to possess and bear arms for the protection of his person and property was restricted and interfered with. The middle classes were suffering from the pressure of extensive commercial embarrassment, whilst the wages of large masses of the labouring population were as low as eight or nine, and even four or five shillings per week.† The price of corn varied from sixty-five to ninety-five shillings a quarter, and importation was prohibited until the averages reached eighty shillings, an amount indicative of a considerably higher market price for a quarter of good wheat.

\* Par. Deb., vol. i. p. 61.

† Speech of the Marquis of Lansdowne, Parl. Deb., vol. i. p. 422.

Such was the condition of England during the period comprised in Mr. Bamford's Memoirs, a period recalled with horror by those whose memory extends over it, darkly and painfully shadowed forth amongst the events of childhood, in the recollection of many who are now in the maturity of life, and concealed from still more by the curtain of the past, which history has not yet raised; occupying a middle ground, its facts are to be collected only from tradition, or from an examination of the wide spread materials from which future historians will construct their narratives.

His breeches pocket is the most sensitive part of an Englishman's anatomy, and the first effort of the people, after the termination of the war, was to throw off the Income Tax. Petitions unprecedented in the number of their signatures loaded the table of the House; the demand was too strong and unanimous to be resisted, and the hated impost, after being brought forward as part of the Government budget, was abandoned. Motions followed for committing to the flames all returns connected with the tax, so that no memorial might remain of its detested existence.

It is curious to compare these proceedings with what took place, on the attempt of Henry the Eighth to impose a similar tax, about the year 1526. In the city of London the tax was resisted by the Common Council; and, after repeated attempts to enforce it, was abandoned, and a Benevolence attempted in its stead. In other parts of the kingdom, persuasion and threats were equally unsuccessful, whilst in Suffolk, where by "gentle handlyng," the Duke of Suffolk had caused the "riche clothiers" to assent to the tax, "they called together the artificers which were wont to be set a woorke, and have their livynges by cloth makynge, and saied, 'sirs, we be not able to set you a woorke, our goodes be taken from us, therefore trust to yourselves and not to us, for otherwise it wille not be.' Then began women to wepe, and young folkes to crie, and men that had no woorke began to rage and assemble themselves in compaignies." The Duke adopted the same mode of pacifying the enraged populace which occurred to Lord Castlereagh: he commanded "that every mannes harnes should be taken from them;" but this measure was not attended with success, for "the rumour waxed more greater," and the people thinking they would use their "harnes" whilst they had it, "rebelled foure thousand menne, and put themselves in harnes, and rang the belles alarme, and began to gather still moore." The Duke of Norfolk with a considerable force being sent to put down this insurrection, demanded to speak with

their captain, when an old man, one of the insurgents, addressed him thus: "My lord, sayed this manne, whose name was John Grene, sithe you aske who is our Capitaine, forsooth his name is Pouvertie, for he and his cosyn Necessitie hath brought us to this dooying." "Then," says the Chronicler,\* "the demande of money ceased in all the realm, for it was perceived that the Commons would none paie." It was a similar perception that wrung an abandonment of the Income tax from the Government of 1816, and that will, if we are not much mistaken, before many years have passed, produce a like result on the tax which we have seen imposed in the present day.

"Pouvertie and his cosyn Necessitie" commanded large bodies in the period of which we are writing. Mr. Parker, a magistrate of Sheffield, wrote to Lord Sidmouth that "the men had arms to work without being able to find any, and that in such a situation they would catch at straws."†

One of the straws they caught at was Henry Hunt.

Voluble without being eloquent, sufficiently bold to face danger, and with readiness and presence of mind enough to acquit himself well to the eye of the world, whilst that danger was imminent and his audience were around him, but without fortitude to bear manfully the consequences of his conduct; vain, greedy of applause, egotistical and selfish, though not without generous sympathies and emotions, Hunt became the pet demagogue of the day. The people, unhappily mistrustful, as we have seen them in our own day, of leaders who did not bid high enough for popularity, looked to Hunt with an admiration approaching to idolatry. Mr. Bamford's first meeting with him was in the year 1817, during his stay in London, as a delegate from the Middleton Club.

"On the day when parliament was opened, a number of the delegates met Hunt at the Golden Cross, Charing Cross; and from thence went with him in procession to the residence of Lord Cochrane, in Palace Yard, where a large petition from Bristol, and most of those from the north of England, were placed in his lordship's hands. There had been some tumult in the morning; the Prince Regent had been insulted on his way to the house, and this part of the town was still in a degree of excitement. We were crowded around, and accompanied by a great multitude, which at intervals rent the air with shouts. Now it was that I beheld Hunt in his element. He unrolled the petition, which was many yards in length, and it was carried on the heads of the crowd, perfectly unharmed. He seemed to know almost every man of them, and his confidence in, and entire mastery over them, made him quite at ease. A louder huzza than common was music to him; and when the questions were asked eagerly, 'Who is he?' 'What are they about?'

\* Hall, p. 699, 700.

† Par. Deb., vol. xxxvii. p. 845.

and the reply was 'Hunt! Hunt! huzza!' his gratification was expressed by a stern smile. He might be likened to the genius of commotion, calling forth its elements, and controlling them at will."—Vol. i. p. 19.

Soon after Mr. Bamford's return to Lancashire, the Blanket meeting took place; it was worthy of note as an indication of the misery of the working classes. The proposed march to London ended, as so ill-concerted a scheme was sure to do, in a complete failure. By the time the party reached Macclesfield, their numbers were reduced below 200.

"About a score arrived at Leek, and six only were known to pass Ashbourne bridge. And so ended the Blanket expedition! 'What would you have really done,' I said to one of them, 'supposing you had got to London?' 'Done!' he replied, in surprise at the question, 'why iv wee'd nobbo gett'n to Lunnun, we shud ha' tan' th' nation, an sattl't o'th dett.' Such, and about as rational, were some of the incoherent dreams which at this time began to find favour in the eyes of the gross multitude."—Vol. i. p. 34.

At this period of Mr. Bamford's narrative, we begin to find indications of the working of the Spy system:—

"At dusk on the evening of Tuesday the 11th of March, the day after the Blanket meeting, a man dressed much like a dyer was brought to my residence by Joseph Healey, who had found him inquiring for me in the lower part of the town. The stranger said he had something of a private and important nature to communicate, in consequence of which I and the stranger and Healey went to the sign of the Trumpeter, where we were accommodated with a private room. The man now told us that he was deputed, by some persons at Manchester, to propose that, in consequence of the treatment which the Blanketeers had received at the meeting and afterwards, 'a Moscow of Manchester' should take place that very night. The man paused and looked at us severally. I intimated that I knew what he meant, and desired him to go on. He said it would entirely depend on the co-operation, or otherwise, of the country people; that other messengers had been sent to every reform society within 20 miles of the town; that if the answers were favourable to the project, the light of the conflagration was to be the signal for the country people to come in, and in such case the Middleton people were requested to take their station on St. George's field. He said the plan had been arranged by a meeting held at Manchester; that the whole force would be divided into parties, one of which was to engage the attention of the military, and draw them from their barracks; another was to take possession of the barracks and secure the arms and magazine; another was to plunder and then set fire to the houses of individuals who were marked out; and a fourth was to storm the New Bailey, and liberate the prisoners, particularly the Blanketeers confined there. I said it was a serious thing to undertake, and that an answer could not be returned from Middleton until some friends had been con-



sulted. On my rising to go out, the man appeared alarmed, and begged I would not betray him. I assured him he had nothing to fear, and desired him to stay with Healey until my return, which would be very soon, on which he seemed reconciled to my going. I speedily went to five of my acquaintance, chiefly members of the committee, and desired them to repair immediately to Healey's house, where business of importance would be laid before them. I then brought up the stranger and the doctor, and telling the man he might confide in us, he repeated nearly word for word what he had said at the Trumpeter. I then said I would have nothing to do with the scheme; that it was unlawful, inhuman, and cowardly. I told him he appeared to be a simple young fellow, and was probably the dupe of some designing villain. My friends agreed with my opinion both as to the proposal and the instrument who broached it; we bade him, however, not to mistrust us, gave him refreshment, and sent him away, more in sorrow for his peril (being persuaded he was in the hands of villains) than of resentment for the decoy he had attempted. We bade him good night, and he went his way.

"The young man said his name was Samuel Priestley; I observed that he had lost a finger from his left hand; he said he lived at Bank Top, Manchester. I afterwards made inquiries respecting him on the spot, but never could hear of such a person in the place, or neighbourhood. This statement, however, cannot now injure him."—Vol. i. p. 37.

Some short time afterwards another attempt was made to entrap the author into a treasonable plot. He was visited at midnight by a person who had been one of his fellow-delegates to London, and who, like himself, was, at that time, in concealment to avoid arrest:—

"This person detailed a plan which, if acted upon with energy, would, he said, effect all that was required. Some ten or a dozen of our best men were to provide themselves with arms, and march to London, where they would be joined, with others, and, at a time agreed upon, the united body were to rush upon the ministers at a cabinet council, or a dinner, and assassinate the whole of them. All London would then rise; the population would subdue all before it; the country would be our own, and a new government would be established. Our arms were to consist of a stout walking staff, with a socket at one end for the reception of a dagger, which, he said, 'may be easily made from the blade of a common knife, such as this' (taking one from the table). Pistols might also be carried by those who could procure them. When asked how the money for the journey was to be raised, he pulled a gold watch from his pocket, and said, if no other means were left, he would dispose of that to raise money. This would not do: it was rather too bare a trap. Besides, it was far wide of our code of reform, and we declined having anything to do with it. We also endeavoured to dissuade him from lending himself to such projects; and we left him without making any impression upon him.

"The fact was, this unfortunate person, in the confidence of an unsuspecting mind, as I believe, had during one of his visits to London,

formed a connexion with Oliver, the spy—which connexion, during several succeeding months, gave a new impulse to secret meetings and plots in various parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire; and ended in the tragedy of Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner, at Derby. This was probably Oliver's first demonstration on his 'professional tour:' it failed—but from that very week, private meetings, for highly criminal purposes, again commenced."—P. 77.

It is worthy of remark, that this plot was almost identical with the one into which Thistlewood and his associates were afterwards entrapped:—

"If," (says Mr. Bamford,) "it be asked, Why did not you, as consistent and honest reformers, denounce this plot to the government, as, in obedience to the laws, you ought to have done? my reply is, Because we were persuaded the government knew of it already; that, consequently, if attempted it would fail; and lastly, because we had accepted the man's confidence, and he had placed his safety in our hands. This last dilemma may serve to caution others, how they accept responsibilities which may lead to criminality or dishonour."—Vol. i. p. 78.

Another of the author's co-delegates, Thomas Bacon, "an aged grey-headed man, stooping beneath probably seventy years," was not so fortunate, or so wary, as to escape the snares which were spread on every side. An interview with him and "a tall decent-looking young man, much like a town's weaver, wearing a blue coat, and with a clean white apron wrapped round his waist," and the attempts made to dissuade them from the dangerous course they were following, are given at too great length to permit us to extract them. These attempts were fruitless,—

"And this pertinacious old man was in a few weeks after arraigned for high treason at Derby, and, pleading guilty, was, with fourteen others, transported for life; whilst the young man, who was one of the Turners, was hung and beheaded, with the equally unfortunate Brandreth and Ludlam.

"The Stranger whom Joseph Mitchell had so assiduously introduced amongst the discontented classes of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, first inveigled them into treasonable associations—then to armed insurrections; he got them to arm, as has been done in the present day, and then—betrayed them! That Stranger—that Betrayer, reader, was OLIVER THE SPY!"—p. 158.

During this time the Habeas Corpus was suspended.

"Personal liberty not being now secure from one hour to another, many of the leading reformers were induced to quit their homes, and seek concealment where they could obtain it. Those who could muster a few pounds, or who had friends to give them a frugal welcome, or who had trades with which they could travel, disappeared like swallows at the close of summer, no one knew whither. The single men stayed away altogether; the married ones would occasionally steal back at

night to their wan-cheeked families, perhaps to divide with them some trifle they had saved during their absence—perhaps to obtain a change of linen or other garment for future concealment; but most of all, as would naturally be the case, to console and be consoled by their wives and little ones. Perhaps one had found an asylum amongst kind friends, and had brought home a little hoard, the fruits of his own industry and carefulness, or of their generosity. Perhaps he had been wandering in want, not daring to make himself known until his beard disguised him, his shoes and stockings were trampled from his feet, and his linen was in rags; when at length, worn out and reckless, he would venture home, like the wearied bird which found no place to rest. Perhaps he had been discovered to be a reform leader and had been threatened, mayhap pursued, and, like a hunted hare, now returned to the place of former repose. Then he would come home stealthily under cover of darkness; his wife would rush into his arms, his little ones would be about his knees, looking silent pleasure—for they, poor things, like nestling birds, had learned to be mute in danger.”—*Vol. i. p. 42.*

In the year 1819, meetings for Reform in Parliament became numerous; and at one which was held in Birmingham, Sir Charles Wolseley was elected to act as a “Legislatorial Attorney” for that town. Sir Charles Wolseley, Major Cartwright, Wooler, Lewis, and Maddocks, were subsequently tried at Warwick for the part they had taken in this proceeding, convicted, and sentenced,—Major Cartwright to a fine of £100, and the others to various terms of imprisonment. A meeting for a similar purpose was arranged to take place at Manchester on the 9th of August; but in consequence of an intimation of its illegality the design was abandoned, and a meeting for the purpose of addressing the Prince Regent was called for the 16th of the same month. The mornings and evenings during the interval were employed by the weavers and spinners in drilling, under the superintendence of some old soldiers, for the purpose of enabling them to assume some appearance of order and regularity at the approaching meeting, and notwithstanding the alarm which was excited by these drilling parties, and the formidable accounts which were laid before parliament in the statements of eight-and-twenty anonymous deponents whose testimony it was impossible to sift or examine, inasmuch as A. B. and X. Y. are for all purposes of cross-examination as completely metaphysical creations as Swift’s abstract idea of a Lord Mayor, there seems to be no good reason for supposing that the persons attending them had any other object in view.

One outrage, and only one, certainly was committed. Two men, of the names of Shawcross and Murray, the latter of whom gave evidence on Hunt’s trial, having concealed themselves for the purpose of watching the proceedings of one of the drilling parties, were detected, taken (as it seems not without cause) for



spies, and somewhat roughly handled in consequence. They probably owed this to their own attempt at concealment; and after what we have seen of the spy system, we cannot be much surprised at what took place: with this single exception, the drilling parties were wholly unaccompanied by any act of violence.

On the morning of the memorable sixteenth of August, the roads leading to Manchester were thronged with almost countless numbers approaching the town in peaceful array, some of them marshalled into a kind of order, and stepping in time to bands of music; With the exception of walking-sticks, (and of these even the number was small, for many of the parties had purposely left them on the road,\*) no weapon was seen amongst that vast multitude: so little anticipation was there of any violence or disturbance, that the processions were in many instances accompanied by the wives and children of the working men, and the banners were surrounded by groups of young girls in their holiday clothes. The destined place of meeting was a piece of waste ground behind St. Peter's church, and the numbers that congregated there for the purpose of peaceably exercising an undoubted right have been variously estimated from 50,000 to 80,000. As Hunt approached, the living mass opened, and he was drawn up to the hustings amidst shouts of applause. Scarcely had he taken his place, and addressed a few words to the meeting, impressing upon them the importance of peaceable and orderly behaviour, when the Manchester yeomanry, under the command of Major Trafford and Captain Birley, appeared upon the field, coming round the corner of Windmill-street at a smart pace, and drawing up in some disorder in front of a house in Mount-street, facing the meeting, belonging to a person of the name of Buxton, and which was at that time occupied by the magistrates of the county. They were welcomed by the people with a shout, and upon the character of this shout much cross swearing has been expended. On Hunt's trial at York, Mr. Hulton, one of the magistrates, described it as a "tremendous shout," and said that the people "groaned and hissed;" by others it has been as confidently described as a shout of welcome and good will; and it seems to have been difficult to distinguish it in any way from the shouts which greeted each successive body of people that appeared upon the field. The opinion of Mr. Tyas, a reporter of the "Times" newspaper, who was present in his professional capacity, is perhaps entitled to most weight with regard to this matter, which has acquired more importance than it would otherwise have deserved, from the fact that this shout was the only thing which bore the semblance of

\* Evid. of John Shuttleworth, p. 85. O. I. Evid. of W. Harrison, Redford v. Burley, and Others.—Celebrated Trials, vol. vi. p. 498.



provocation on the part of the people. He says, "My opinion was, that these cheers were meant to intimate that the people were not *daunted* by their appearance." Mr. Baines, of the Leeds Mercury, on the same occasion said, "My impression was that the cheers were cheers of conscious innocence, confidently relying on the protection of the laws."\* The probability is, that the shout was really one of mixed character, and was the expression of feelings as various as were created in the minds of the individuals forming that vast mass, by the sudden appearance of the yeomanry. Mr. Bamford thus describes the scene:—

"On the cavalry drawing up, they were received with a shout of good-will, as I understood it. They shouted again, waving their sabres over their heads; and then slackening rein, and striking spur into their steeds, they dashed forward, and began cutting the people."—Vol. i. p. 206.

The pretence for this attack was the necessity of military assistance for the purpose of aiding the civil power to serve a warrant for arrest upon Hunt.† That warrant had only a few moments before been delivered to Nadin, the constable, and no attempt whatever had been made by him to serve it. It must be remembered that from the house where the magistrates were assembled, and in which the warrant was delivered to Nadin, to the hustings, there were stationed a double row of constables;‡ and that Nadin himself had walked up and down many times on this spot a few moments before without any violence § being offered to him. It is true that Nadin swore stoutly on the Oldham Inquest, that it was impossible for him to serve the warrant without the assistance of the military; but he swore with equal confidence, that in the approach of the cavalry to the hustings "nobody was trodden down"—"not a single sword was uplifted, nor was any person cut or struck that he saw." Another witness described the attack of the yeomanry in the following words:—"They halted before the house, brandished their swords, and gave three cheers; then a voice from the window called out 'forward!' At that moment they set off amongst the people towards the hustings, cutting the people on both sides of their horses as far as they could reach."|| On being asked as to the numbers and conduct of the meeting, the same

\* Hunt's Trial, York, 1820.—Evid. of John Tyas and Edw. Baines, jun.

† Evid. of William Hulton, Esq.—Hunt's Trial. Evid. of J. Andrews.—Manchester Cavalry Case, Lancaster, April, 1822.

‡ Evid. of John Fell.—Old. Inq. p. 170.

§ Evid. of Jos. Nadin.—Oldham Inquest, p. 465. And of John Shuttleworth, p. 84.

|| Evid. of John Fell.—Old. Inq. p. 171.

witness replied,—“ I suppose about fifty or sixty thousand—I never saw so many, or so peaceable.”

The best evidence of the character of the meeting is to be found in the testimony of the witnesses who were examined on the Oldham Inquest which was held upon the body of a man of the name of John Lees, one of the many unhappy victims who died from the effect of sabre wounds received on that disastrous day. That evidence extends to so great a length (the report of the proceedings forming a thick and very-closely printed octavo volume of 580 pages) that it is impossible to give even an abstract of it in the space to which we are necessarily limited: We extract, however, from the report of the civil proceedings which were instituted by some of the sufferers against Captain Birley and some other individuals belonging to the yeomanry cavalry, (amongst whom appears Edward Meagher, the trumpeter, a name which will once awaken the recollection of the disastrous occurrences of that day in the mind of every one whose memory extends sufficiently far back,) the account of an eye witness, whose testimony is entitled to peculiar respect.

Universally beloved and respected in a private station, and now worthily bearing the highest honours of his sacred calling, and conferring dignity on that exalted rank by his spotless character, the Rev. E. Stanley, then rector of Alderley, was an accidental spectator of the meeting, and witnessed its dispersion.

The following is his account of what he saw :—

“ On the 16th of August 1819, I had business with Mr. Buxton. I entered Mosley-street, Manchester, on the 16th of August, as nearly at twelve o'clock as possible. In proceeding up Mosley-street I met many persons, they were walking six or seven a-breast, and they were arm-in-arm. I was on horseback. I passed through this body of people by their opening to give me way. I got to Mr. Buxton's house about a quarter after one. I went into a room where the magistrates were assembled. I remained there about eight or ten minutes. During the time I was in that room Mr. Hunt arrived on the ground in a barouche, accompanied by a vast multitude. The populace gave a tremendous shout when he appeared. I did not remain in the room I first entered, but went into the room above it. There were several other persons in that room. I saw the Manchester yeomanry come to the ground. They formed with their left flank to the right of the line of constables. The constables extended from Mr. Buxton's door up to the hustings. There were two lines of constables. Near Mr. Buxton's house, and until the constables came to the mob, the interval between the two lines was four or five feet. It was contracted, by pressure, when the lines got among the people; but when they came near the hustings, the interval appeared to expand a little again. I saw the people collected round the hustings in a very large mass. I believe almost all the people about the hustings had their hats off. I saw banners and caps of liberty on the ground. I heard Mr. Hunt's voice, but I could not distinguish his words.

"In two or three minutes after the cavalry formed in front of Mr. Buxton's house, they advanced towards the hustings. They were in an irregular mass. They went on for a few paces at no very quick rate; but they soon increased their pace, till it became a sort of rush or race amongst them all towards the hustings. The people could not disperse instantly; but the outward edge of the meeting, in front of the hustings, began to melt away, as it were. The speed of the cavalry was diminished as soon as they came in contact with the dense mob, but they worked their way to the hustings. I watched the advance of the cavalry towards the hustings attentively. I saw neither sticks nor stones used against the cavalry in their advance. I could not say that I saw the cavalry surround the hustings, but I saw the swords moving up and down, the orators overturned, and the mob dispersed rapidly. From the time the cavalry started from their halt, till the final dispersion of the meeting, was, in my judgment, from three to five minutes. I saw other troops come on the field. That was after the mob round the hustings had dispersed rapidly, and, I think, after Hunt had been carried off. At that time the Cheshire yeomanry came in, and formed on the left of Buxton's house. They took up their position on the rear of the hustings. Soon after the Cheshire yeomanry arrived, a troop of the 15th dragoons came in and formed under the windows of Mr. Buxton's house. I think they were the 15th dragoons. They wore Waterloo medals; they halted or paused for a moment or two. At the close of the business, I saw some artillery driving through the place. After the crowd was dispersed, the yeomanry cavalry went to every part of the field. From my situation in the window, I think, if any sticks or stones had been flung at the cavalry I must have seen them."

*"Cross-examined by Mr. Serjeant Hullock.*

"You are a magistrate, I understand?—I am not.

"Were you in the magistrates' room at Mr. Buxton's?—I was.

"You saw from a back window, in the room above stairs, a messenger dispatched for the cavalry—or you were told that a messenger was so dispatched?—Yes.

"Did it occur to you at that time, that that step was improper or premature?—I saw no necessity for it.

"It struck you, then, as an unnecessary act?—Certainly.

"I ask you then, sir, whether you recollect the impression under which you laboured, when you were going home with Mr. Markland?—I thought it then, as I think it now, a dreadful occurrence, but I hoped that there were grounds for it.

"Did you see Hunt, with the ladies and gentlemen in his train, arrive on the field?—I did. I did not hear Mr. Hunt desire the people to give three cheers. There were, however, loud cheers given by the people.

*"Re-examined by Mr. Blackburne.*

"May I ask you, were you terrified by those shouts?—Certainly not.

"Will you tell me whether you saw or heard the Riot-act read?—I neither heard it nor saw it read.



" *By Serjeant Hullock.*—If it were read you must have heard or seen it?—I think so."\*

When Mr. Stanley saw "the swords moving up and down," the density of the crowd and the thick dust which was raised must have prevented him from seeing the effects which followed each blow; but of this we have the most melancholy proof. It is impossible to ascertain with accuracy the number of the sufferers, but seven persons at the least perished from the immediate effect of those blows, and some hundreds† were ascertained to be severely wounded, and this calculation does not include those who crept into holes and corners, and concealed their injuries, fearful lest their wounds should be conclusive evidence against them, of their having been partakers in an illegal meeting. Neither age nor sex was spared:—the old man tottering along upon his crutch was struck down,‡ and the young mother folding her child to her breast with the self-devotion of a woman's instinct, guarded her infant from the sabre cut by receiving it on her own forehead;§—a group that might have added a horror to Rubens's Massacre of the Innocents.

The field was cleared in less than ten minutes; Hunt, Moorhouse, and some others were in custody, and the yeomanry were engaged in pursuing the scattered fugitives with exulting oaths and execrations.

Let us now turn to Mr. Bamford's account of the effect which the transactions of this day produced upon the minds of the people.

Having returned home, ascertained the safety of his wife, who had been upon the field, and procured a disguise, he went back to Manchester.

"All seemed in a state of confusion: the streets were patrolled by military, police and special constables; the shops were closed and silent; the warehouses were shut up and padlocked; the Exchange was deserted; the artillery was ready; and it was reported that thousands of pikemen were on the way to Manchester from Oldham, Middleton, and other surrounding districts. I entered public-houses, called for my squib of cordial, and listened, saying nothing. I overheard the groups in the streets, and the general opinion was that the authorities were stunned, and at a loss how to proceed; that many of the wealthy class blamed them as well for the severity with which they had acted, as for the jeopardy in which they had placed the lives and property of the towns people; whilst all the working population were a-thirst for revenge, and only awaited the coming of the country folk to attempt a sweeping havoc.

\* Evid. of the Rev. E. Stanley, Manchester Cavalry case, Celebrated Trials, vol. i. p. 499.

† Vol. ii. p. 148.

‡ Evid. of W. N. Buckley, p. 95.

§ Evid. of Eliz. Farren, p. 177, and of Rob. Launcester, p. 567.



"Some proposals which I heard assented to filled me with horror. The immolation of a selected number of the guilty ones might have been discussed before God and man, but what these men sought would not do; and I retired and put off my dress more thoughtful than when I took it up."—P. 214.

"I found, when I got home, that there had been a general ferment in the town. Many of the young men had been preparing arms, and looking out articles to convert into such. Some had been grinding scythes, others old hatchets, others screw-drivers, rusty swords, pikels, and mop nails; any thing that could be made to cut or stab was pronounced fit for service. But no plan was defined—nothing was arranged—and the arms were afterwards reserved for any event that might occur."—Vol. i. p. 216.

Having seen the effect produced upon the people, let us now inquire what proceedings took place in the Courts of Justice and before Parliament.

On the night between the 6th and 7th of September following, John Lees, a young man of about twenty-two years of age, who had received sabre wounds and been severely beaten by the staves of the constables, died at his father's house in Oldham.

A coroner's jury was summoned, and sat on the 8th of September in Oldham: the inquiry proceeded, and after the examination of sixty-nine witnesses; after every attempt had been made, by means of decisions, as to the admissibility or inadmissibility of evidence, which, but for the subject, would be ludicrous in the extreme, to stifle inquiry; after, by repeated adjournments, the proceedings had extended from the 8th of September to the 1st of December,—it was discovered that they were irregular on the purely technical ground that the jury and the coroner had not seen the body of the deceased together, and all further inquiry was dropped.

This proceeding was the celebrated Oldham Inquest, and to any of our readers who are desirous of obtaining an accurate knowledge of the tragical occurrences of that day, we would recommend a careful perusal of the evidence which was given on that occasion.

Application was made to the magistrates, they declined to interfere because they were personally interested; the application was repeated to others who were not so circumstanced, and they refused, because it might compromise their brother magistrates.

Bills of indictment against some of the yeomanry, who had been peculiarly active, were preferred before the Grand Jury, the first (we quote from the account of Mr. Pearson, and the depositions of the parties themselves) by a Mr. Gilmour, who

was an accidental spectator, attracted by the noise, and who was sabred as he was quietly returning to his own house. The next by Elizabeth Farren (the woman before alluded to), who was standing in the neighbourhood of the meeting, with her child at her breast, and seeing one of the yeomanry (whom she had known before, and whom she identified,) approaching, held her child down, and prayed him to spare her infant: his only answer to her prayer was a sabre cut on her forehead, and the blow was repeated as she fell. The third, by an accidental passer by in the streets, who was sworn at and cut down by a straggling party of the yeomanry. The fourth, by a woman upwards of sixty years of age, who had wandered forth in search of her son, and who appealed to one of the yeomanry, whom she had known from a child, for mercy, exclaiming, "Thomas, thou wilt not hurt me, I know!" Deaf to her entreaties, he replied to her appeal by riding her down, and cutting her on the head with his sabre. The last case was one of a poor little boy, whom curiosity had led into the crowd, and who, when he saw the attack made upon the people, caught the eye of one of the defendants whom he knew, and ran to him for protection,—a cut on the head, from a sabre, was the reward of his confidence.

The Grand Jury threw out all these bills.

Hunt, Knight, Johnson, Laxton, Bamford, Healey, Moorhouse, Jones, Swift, and Wylde, were tried at York in the spring of 1820, for their share in the proceedings of the 16th of August, but all evidence of the conduct of the yeomanry was necessarily excluded.

Sir Francis Burdett, on the 22nd of August, wrote and sent from his hunting-box in Leicestershire, through the hands of Mr. Bickersteth (now Lord Langdale), an eloquent and indignant letter to his Westminster constituents. On the 23rd of March following he was tried at Leicester on an *ex officio* information, for a seditious libel. Mr. Denman offered evidence to prove the statements respecting the Manchester Meeting.

Mr. Justice Best said, "that which related to the proceedings at Manchester was irrelevant; he would allow no evidence of what passed there."\*

Thomas Redford, one of the persons who had been wounded, (the *dead* instituted no legal proceedings,) brought an action, which has been before alluded to, against Captain Birley, Meagher and two others. The cause was tried at Lancaster, on the 4th of April 1822, and a verdict found for the defendants.

\* Celebrated Trials, vol. vi. p. 331.

Such were the results of appeals to the ordinary tribunals of the country.

On the 23rd of November Parliament met. The Prince Regent's Speech contained no allusion to these transactions.

On the 30th of the same month the Marquis of Lansdowne moved, in the House of Lords, for a committee "to inquire into the state of the country, and more particularly with reference to the distress of the manufacturing districts, and the execution of the laws with respect to the numerous meetings which had taken place."\* The Manchester Meeting formed the staple of the debate. Lord Erskine denounced the conduct of the magistracy and the yeomanry; he asserted the legality of the meeting; "no overt act of felony or mischief had been committed or threatened, when the yeomanry were directed to rush upon this defenceless multitude, with women and children in their path." "What colour or excuse was there for sabring right and left that unarmed multitude?"†

All inquiry was refused, and the motion was lost by a majority of 178 to 47.

On the same night Lord Althorp moved, in the House of Commons, for a select committee to inquire into and report upon the papers presented to the House relative to the state of the country. The facts connected with the dispersion of the meeting of the 16th of August were detailed by Mr. Tierney. Mr. Denman, then member for Nottingham, now Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, and always the fearless advocate of freedom and humanity, protested against the doctrine which had been industriously promulgated, that the meeting was illegal, and demanded a full inquiry into the circumstances attending its dispersion. The Attorney-General assented to what he could not deny, the correctness of the law as laid down on the opposite side; but the House, by a majority of 323 to 150, rejected the motion, and closed their doors against all investigation.

Petitions from various parts of the country, from the wounded and from the relations of the slain, praying for inquiry and redress, were presented to the House of Commons. They were ordered to lie upon the table.

Such were the results of an appeal to the legislature.

The crowning insult yet remains behind. Before the slaughtered victims were cold in their graves, whilst the gashes were raw and gaping on the backs of men and the breasts of women, ere the blood was wiped from the sabres of the cavalry, Lord Sidmouth, the Secretary of State for the Home Department,

\* Par. Deb., vol. xli. p. 418.

† Par. Deb., vol. xli., p. 445.



conveyed the thanks of the Prince Regent to the magistrates and yeomanry of Manchester.

We give this curious state paper entire: it is addressed to the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, and dated from Whitehall, the 21st of August, five days only after the meeting, and is in the following words:—

“ MY LORD,

“ Having laid before the Prince Regent the accounts transmited to me from Manchester, of the proceeding at that place on Monday last, I have been commanded by his Royal Highness to request that your Lordship will express to the Magistrates of the county palatine of Lancaster, who attended on that day, the great satisfaction derived by his Royal Highness from their prompt, decisive, and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity; and likewise that your Lordship will communicate to Major Trafford his Royal Highness's high approbation of the support and assistance to the civil power afforded on that occasion by himself and the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, serving under his command.

“ I have the honour, &c.

(Signed)

“SIDMOUTH.”

“ To the Earl of Derby, &c., Knowsley.”

Our remarks have already extended over a much greater space than we had originally intended, and yet we have confined ourselves to the bare facts of the case. Those facts stand forward in the bold relief of their own atrocity, and need no comment. As to the question, whether the swords of the yeomanry, which “ were as sharp as swords usually are, but were sent to Mr. Richardson during the month of July to be made still sharper,”\* were prepared with an express view to the service they were to perform; the reason why, on Hunt's trial, Nadin was not put into the witness-box, and why, (though his brother magistrates were in attendance,) Mr. Hulton alone gave an account of the transactions of the day; on the absence of any proof that the Riot Act was read, though such proof was repeatedly called for, both at the Oldham Inquest, where not one of the sixty-nine witnesses could say that he saw or heard it read, and at Hunt's trial, where Mr. Hulton could not prove it, and where Mr. Hay and Mr. Ethelstone, who, we must in charity suppose from what afterwards occurred, might have proved it, were present but were not examined, until those two Reverend gentlemen, more than two years and a half afterwards, swore, one that he read it out of a window of Mr. Buxton's house, and the other that he stood by ready to catch the reader by the skirts of his coat, lest in the fervour of his zeal he should fall out amongst the crowd; on the dismissal of Earl Fitzwilliam from the

\* Evid. of Daniel Kennedy, pp. 161—163.



Lord-Lieutenancy of the West Riding of Yorkshire; and on the subject of preferments that followed close on the heels of the events of the 16th of August,—we have purposely been silent. We shall conclude our remarks on this subject by quoting the reflections of one of the shrewdest observers of the present day, dressed up in his own fantastical language.

“Who shall compute the waste and loss, the obstruction of every sort, that was produced in the Manchester region of Peterloo alone! Some thirteen unarmed men and women cut down,—the number of the slain and maimed is very countable: but the treasury of rage, burning, hidden or visible, in all hearts ever since, more or less perverting the effort and aim of all hearts ever since, is of unknown extent. ‘How ye came among us, in your cruel armed blindness, ye unspeakable County Yeomanry, sabres flourishing, hoofs prancing, and slashed us down at your brute pleasure; deaf, blind, to all *our* claims and woes and wrongs; of quick sight and sense to your own claims only! There lie poor, sallow, workworn weavers,—and complain no more now; women themselves are slashed and sabred; howling terror fills the air; and ye ride prosperous, very victorious,—ye unspeakable: give *us* sabres too, and then come on a little!’ Such are Peterloos. In all hearts that witnessed Peterloo, stands written, as in fire-characters, or smoke-characters, prompt to become fire again, a legible balance account of grim vengeance; very unjustly balanced, much exaggerated, as is the way with such accounts, but payable readily at sight, in full, with compound interest!”—*Past and Present*, p. 22.

We have been tempted to this length by the conviction which we entertain, that nothing is so well calculated to dispel the gloom, which the events of the last two years have thrown over many of the most consistent and fearless friends to the freedom and advancement of the people, and to remove the despondency which they feel at seeing a Tory ministry again supported by large majorities in the House of Commons, and at witnessing the apathy, ignorance, and corruption of large masses of the populace, as a review of what the state of the country was twenty years ago. We believe that occurrences such as those which we have detailed, could not now take place; that if they did, even Sir Robert Peel, in the plenitude of his power, would find himself compelled, by the force of public opinion, to grant the fullest and most searching inquiry. We think that, although much still remains to be done by education, and more by the removal of all restraints upon their industry and enterprise, to raise the character and ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes, a great deal has been effected since the period of which we have been writing. We have, during the last year, seen the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire (the very theatre in which these tragedies were enacted) for a considerable time

under mob-law, and yet not one act of violence to the person, attended with any serious consequences, was committed during the whole of that time. We do not believe that there is any other country in the world in which the same thing could occur, and we do not think it would have been so in this country twenty years ago. If it be asked to what do we attribute this improvement? we answer, to ten years of just and beneficent rule—to the reform (defective though it be in many respects) in the Constitution of the House of Commons—to the introduction of the principle of representation into our municipalities—to the removal of disabilities on the ground of religious opinion—to the amelioration of our criminal code—to the spread of education—and not least, to the effect produced by the executive department of the government being, during that period, in the hands of an administration, who had the welfare of the people at large sincerely at heart.

There is one feature of the present times which is entirely new: the union of the supporters of the present administration, at the late general election, with the advocates of universal suffrage and a division of property, was a baseness left for Chartists and Conservatives to accomplish.

The alliance, however, has accomplished its purpose, and is at an end; one of the contracting parties has seized upon place and power; and the leaders of the other, instead of hugging Conservative candidates on the hustings in counties, and receiving and distributing Conservative gold in boroughs, have, during the very week in which we are writing, been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, for their seditious and riotous conduct.

We must notice the remaining part of Mr. Bamford's Memoirs very shortly.

Having been tried at York, with Hunt, and found guilty, he was, with the other prisoners, called up in the following Term to receive the judgment of the court. The account of his pedestrian journey to London for this purpose is very amusing; it is told in a highly graphic manner, and contains two or three stories of his fellow-travellers, which would afford materials for as many three-volume novels of the present day. There is, by the way, much of this extraneous matter in Mr. Bamford's Memoirs, which (when it does not annoy the reader by breaking the thread of the narrative, as too often happens) is extremely amusing. Plant's Goblin story, told to the author during one of his imprisonments, vol. i. p. 130; the battle between "Doggy" and the Poacher, in the same volume; and the many anecdotes of Doctor Healey,—are amongst the best of these episodes. We

must not omit also to notice that Mr. Bamford writes his native dialect with admirable precision; with no less skill, in our opinion, (and we consider ourselves judges in this matter,) than the great classic of Lancashire, Mr. Timothy Bobbin; and that whenever he introduces it, it adds much to the raciness of his narrative.

In conclusion, we cordially recommend Mr. Bamford's two little volumes to the perusal of our readers. Nothing is more difficult than to obtain correct information as to the thoughts and feelings of the working classes; they seldom meet the middle and higher ranks, except in a position of antagonism; there is something to be hoped or feared from the superior in wealth, station, and education, and either category is equally unfavourable to a candid and frank exposition of thoughts and opinions. When an intelligent and well-informed member of that class comes forward, and gives an account of what has been passing in his own mind, and what he has observed of others, from a point of view in which we seldom have an opportunity of regarding them, he renders a valuable service to all ranks and classes, and deserves our respectful attention and gratitude.

J. P.

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Whilst these sheets have been going through the press, events have taken place which call upon us to modify the hopeful tone of some of our observations. A bill has been introduced into the House of Commons, containing provisions violating the first principles of free government, in a manner as shameless as any of the atrocious acts which disgraced the administration of Sidmouth and Castlereagh.

The Irish Arms Bill, should it become the law of the land, in the shape in which it has been introduced by the government, will place the liberties, nay, the very lives, (for how, in a country whose lawlessness is the pretended justification for the introduction of this measure, can the life of any man be safe when he is denied arms to protect it?) at the mercy of irresponsible justices of the peace. His house, which is to be no longer an Irishman's, castle, may be broken open at any hour of the night to search for arms, which may or may not be there. The discovery of a pikehead (or anything that a police-officer pleases to call so,) stuck into a haystack or thrown behind a pigsty, will subject the unhappy owner of the premises where it is found, to seven years' transportation, unless he can prove that it was there without his knowledge.

The Irishman's horse is to go unshod, unless a licensed black-



smith can be found to hammer out a shoe at a licensed forge; and the rocks of Ireland are to remain unblasted, (the only thing in that unhappy land that is so,) unless the necessity of the operation is certified by two justices of the peace, (admirable Engineers!) when it is to be performed by a certificated miner, with licensed powder bought of a licensed dealer.

The machinery of this hateful and tyrannical bill is to be worked by the magistracy, and the spirit in which its enactments will be carried out, may be augured from the fact, that contemporaneously with its introduction into the House of Commons, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, by an exercise of prerogative worthy of the days of the Stuarts, has dismissed from the Commission of the Peace a considerable number of gentlemen, on the sole and avowed ground of their having attended meetings to petition for a repeal of the union,—an object as strictly legal and constitutional as a repeal of the Corn laws. And for what is this arbitrary measure introduced?—this irresponsible power given?—this galling tyranny imposed? Does Lord Eliot or Sir Robert Peel imagine that a coach and six may not be driven through the bill, even should it pass? Have they forgotten the atrocities of the Peep of Day boys? and do they suppose that this bill can have any effect, but that of again disarming the peaceable and well-disposed, and leaving them at the mercy of the lawless ruffians whom it cannot reach? Do they not know that it will be received with one indignant shout of execration from Fairhead to Cape Clear, which will syllable itself into “Repeal?” and that however mistaken that cry may be, its already fearful power will be terribly increased by giving a semblance of justice to the demand? Let Sir Robert Peel take warning in time;—That cry may gather strength from insult, injustice, and oppression, until it becomes a blast before which, not the Union, (the severance of that we consider as impossible as we think it undesirable for the best interests of Ireland,) but the incongruous and undigested materials of which his administration is constructed, may crumble and burst asunder as the walls of Jericho fell down flat at the sound of the trumpets of Joshua, and the great shout of the Children of Israel.



ART. IV.—SELECTIONS FROM THE DRAMAS OF  
 GOETHE AND SCHILLER, translated, with Introductory  
 Remarks, by ANNA SWANWICK.—Sold by John Murray,  
 Albemarle-street. London, 1843.

THE Madonna of the painter, the Venus of the sculptor, Heroine of the poet,—the universal voice,—has decided that Woman, in her every relation, is the true poetry of life, and it is in vain that the critic calls us to dwell on the more perfect form of man,—in vain that he compels us to admire Romeo,—our thoughts ever turn to Juliet. It is true that Goethe, an oracle on most subjects of this kind, has represented the ladies of the emperor's court as unable, from envy, to appreciate the perfect beauty of Helen, when, together with Paris, she was summoned by the mighty wand of the enchanter, to gratify an idle curiosity; but the poet has here left the source of personal experience and deep-sighted observation, whence he habitually drew his inspiration.

Innumerable instances might be brought forward to prove that women show themselves fully able to appreciate the beautiful in their own sex, whether it consist in external graces, or internal worth; but, for the present, we choose one which has recently fallen under our observation, in the Selections from the Dramas of Goethe and Schiller, where the translator seems to have been unconsciously guided in her choice of subjects by a deep and true admiration of the most perfect female characters delineated by the greatest dramatists of Germany. The volume consists of Goethe's "Iphigenia in Tauris;" of the first act, and the first scene of the second act, of "Torquato Tasso," by the same author; and of Schiller's "Maid of Orleans," in which every part of the drama is given which has relation to the Heroine, the passages "omitted being employed, for the most part, in pourtraying the hopeless condition of the French court, before the appearance of the Maiden, or in detailing the military operations of the French and English armies." To each is prefixed an historical notice, in which such information is given as seemed necessary to "enable those unfamiliar with Grecian literature, or with the biographies of Tasso and Joan of Arc, to enter at once into the spirit of each drama."

The plot of Goethe's Iphigenia in Tauris is very simple. When the play opens the heroine is Priestess of Diana, in the barbarous region of Tauris, whither she was conveyed by the

goddess from the altar on which she was about to be sacrificed, and Thoas, king of the Taurians, is vainly endeavouring to persuade her to be his wife. She pleads her foreign and fatal origin in excuse for her refusal. The king, irritated, commands her to put two newly arrived strangers to death, in accordance with a law hitherto suspended at her entreaty. In them she recognises her brother Orestes, pursued by the Furies, and sent by Apollo in quest of his sister, and his faithful friend, Pylades. Iphigenia, overpersuaded, delivers to them reluctantly the image of Diana, of which they are in search, and promises to fly with them; but afterwards confesses the whole to the king, and entreats him to allow her to depart openly with her brother to her native land. Her eloquence and truth move the noble, though uncivilized monarch, and he allows her to depart with Orestes, whom the Furies have ceased to haunt, leaving with the Taurians the image of Diana, the event having proved that the ambiguous oracle referred to the sister, not of Apollo, but of Orestes. From this slight sketch it will be seen that, as a French critic has observed, the form only of the play is antique, while the admirable sentiments are those of Goethe, and of a Christian age.

We will now quote from the introductory remarks :—

“ The drama of ‘ Iphigenia in Tauris ’ has been considered Goethe’s masterpiece ; it is conceived in the lofty spirit of Greek ideality, and is characterized throughout by moral beauty and dignified repose. Schlegel styles it an echo of Greek song,—an epithet as appropriate as it is elegant ; for, without any servile imitation of classic models, this beautiful drama, through the medium of its polished verse, reproduces in softened characters the graceful and colossal forms of the antique.” But while “ in the drama of Euripides we are chiefly interested in the generous friendship of Orestes and Pylades, in that of Goethe the character of Iphigenia constitutes the chief charm, and awakens our warmest sympathy. While contemplating her, we feel as if some exquisite statue of Grecian art had become animated by a living soul, and moved and breathed before us : yet, though exhibiting the severe simplicity which characterizes the creations of antiquity, she is far removed from all coldness and austerity ; and her character, though cast in a classic mould, is free from that harsh and vindictive spirit which darkened the heroism of those barbarous times when religion lent her sanction to hatred and revenge. The softened character which Goethe has attributed to his heroine appears justified by the peculiarity of her position. The poetry of antiquity has been characterised as having its foundation, for the most part, in the scene which is present ; but Iphigenia, an exile in a foreign land, cherishing with fond regret the memory of her distant home, and ardently longing to return thither, is in harmony with the poetic spirit of more modern times,

which, deeply earnest in its character, has been described by Schlegel as hovering between recollection and hope."

The exquisite beauty and pathos of Iphigenia's character are heightened by her noble moral attributes,—qualities which are reflected to the reader from the increasing love, admiration, and reverence of those around her. Even when she consents to fly with her brother, and bear with her the sacred image, her judgment is dimmed for the moment,—not her feelings perverted; for she replies to the urgent reasoning of Pylades, "I cannot argue, I can only feel." The purity and delicacy of this character, its perfect humanity, and yet freedom from all earth-born passion, make it an unrivalled creation of the author's mind; so that we are particularly fortunate in having a record of the manner in which the image of it was cherished, if not formed: and we find that, like Milton, Shelley, and many other poets, he derived aid and inspiration from the painters of Italy; for among some notes, dated Bologna, Oct. 19th, 1786, after describing the very mixed feelings with which he had contemplated some pictures, more admirable in execution than subject, he thus continues:—"But if a work of Raphael, or at least one that can be ascribed to him, meets the eye, there is instantly a feeling of refreshment and delight. So have I felt with regard to the St. Agatha, a truly valuable painting, though not in very good preservation. The artist has represented her as a noble virgin, bright with health, refined without coldness. I gazed long upon her, and shall in spirit read my Iphigenia to her, and not allow my heroine to say anything which this holy one would not wish to have spoken."

Most amply is the pledge here given redeemed: the opening soliloquy reveals the whole character.

*A Grove before the Temple of Diana.*

IPHIGENIA.

Beneath your leafy gloom, ye waving boughs  
Of this old, shady, consecrated grove,  
As in the goddess' silent sanctuary,  
With the same shuddering feeling forth I step,  
As when I trod it first, nor ever here  
Doth my unquiet spirit feel at home.  
Long as the mighty will, to which I bow,  
Hath kept me here conceal'd, still, as at first,  
I feel myself a stranger. For the sea  
Doth sever me, alas! from those I love,  
And day by day upon the shore I stand,  
My soul still seeking for the land of Greece.  
But to my sighs, the hollow sounding waves  
Bring, save their own hoarse murmurs, no reply.

Alas, for him ! who friendless and alone,  
 Remote from parents and from brethren dwells ;  
 Grief doth from him snatch every coming joy  
 Before it reach his lip. His restless thoughts  
 Revert for ever to his father's halls,  
 Where first to him the radiant sun unclosed  
 The gates of heaven ; where closer, day by day,  
 Brothers and sisters, leagued in pastime sweet,  
 Around each other twined the bonds of love.  
 I will not judge the counsel of the gods ;  
 Yet truly woman's lot doth merit pity.  
 Man rules alike at home and in the field,  
 Nor is in foreign climes without resource ;  
 Possession glads him, conquest wreaths his brow,  
 And him an honourable death awaits.  
 How circumscribed is woman's destiny !  
 Obedience to a harsh, imperious lord,  
 Her duty, and her comfort ; sad her fate,  
 Whom hostile Fortune drives to lands remote !  
 Thus I, by noble Thoas, am detain'd,  
 Bound with a heavy, though a sacred chain.  
 Oh ! with what shame, Diana, I confess  
 That with repugnance I perform these rites  
 For thee, divine protectress ! unto whom  
 I would in freedom dedicate my life.  
 In thee, Diana, I have always hoped,  
 And still I hope in thee, who didst infold  
 Within the holy shelter of thine arm  
 The outcast daughter of the mighty king.  
 Daughter of Jove ! hast thou from ruin'd Troy  
 Led back in triumph to his native land  
 The mighty man, whom thou didst sore afflict,  
 His daughter's life in sacrifice demanding.—  
 Hast thou for him, the godlike Agamemnon,  
 Who to thy altar led his darling child,  
 Preserved his wife, Electra, and his son,  
 His dearest treasures ?—then at length restore  
 Thy suppliant also to her friends and home,  
 And save her, as thou once from death didst save,  
 So now, from living here, a second death.

ACT I. Scene I.

The following passage is transcribed from the conclusion of  
 the last act, where Orestes, pleading with Thoas, king of the  
 Taurians, to permit the departure of Iphigenia, along with  
 Pylades and himself, thus apostrophizes his sister :—

“ The bonds severe,  
 Which held thee from us, holy one, are rent,  
 And thou art ours once more. At thy blest touch,



I felt myself restored. Within thine arms,  
Madness once more around me coil'd its folds,  
Crushing the marrow in my frame, and then  
For ever, like a serpent, fled to hell.  
Through thee, the daylight gladdens me anew.  
The counsel of the Goddess now shines forth  
In all its beauty and beneficence.  
Like to a sacred image, unto which  
An oracle immutably hath bound  
A city's welfare, thee Diana took,  
Protectress of our house, and guarded here  
Within this holy stillness, to become  
A blessing to thy brother and thy race.  
Now when each passage to escape seems closed,  
And safety hopeless, thou dost give us all.  
O King, incline thine heart to thoughts of peace!  
Let her fulfil her mission, and complete  
The consecration of our father's house,  
Me to their purified abode restore,  
And place upon my brow the ancient crown;  
Requite the blessing which her presence brought thee,  
And let me now my nearer right enjoy!  
Cunning and force, the proudest boast of man,  
Fade in the lustre of her perfect truth;  
Nor unrequited will a noble mind  
Leave confidence, so childlike and so pure.

## IPHIGENIA.

Think on thy promise; let thy heart be moved  
By what a true and honest tongue hath spoken:  
Look on us, King! an opportunity  
For such a noble deed not oft occurs.  
Refuse thou canst not,—give thy quick consent.

## THOAS.

Then go.

## IPHIGENIA.

Not so, my king: I cannot part  
Without thy blessing, or in anger from thee.  
Banish us not! the sacred right of guests  
Still let us claim: so not eternally  
Shall we be sever'd. Honour'd and beloved,  
As my own father was, art thou to me:  
And this impression in my soul remains.  
Should e'en the meanest peasant of thy land  
Bring to my ear the tones I heard from thee,  
Or should I on the humblest see thy garb,  
I will with joy receive him as a god,  
Prepare his couch myself, beside our hearth  
Invite him to a seat, and only ask

Touching thy fate and thee. O may the gods  
 To thee the merited reward impart  
 Of all thy kindness and benignity !  
 Farewell ! oh, do not turn away, but give  
 One kindly word of parting in return.  
 So shall the wind more gently swell our sails,  
 And from our eyes with soften'd anguish flow  
 The tears of separation. Fare thee well !  
 And graciously extend to me thy hand,  
 In pledge of ancient friendship.

THOAS (*extending his hand*).

Fare thee well !

We have no hesitation in pronouncing Iphigenia the most perfect of Goethe's heroines ; her exquisite simplicity forms a wonderful contrast to the beautiful though complicated character of Leonora of Este. We cannot bring into comparison with these pure spirits the Gretchen in Faust, who in spite of her sweetness and devoted love never wins our perfect sympathy, until the moment when amid the ravings of madness she prefers a death of ignominy to a life of sin ; or the Clara in Egmont, who though animated by a noble and self-sacrificing love, shows a culpable weakness in admitting constantly the attentions of her rejected lover Brackenbourg, so that we tremble for a character which, though prompt and energetic when aroused, shows so little force in calmer moments. "The reason firm, the temperate will," are indeed generally wanting in Goethe's characters ; we must, however, not forget to except the gentle and loving Marianne, in the "Brother and Sister ;" and the noble-minded and true-hearted Dorothea, in the beautiful pastoral epic of Hermann and Dorothea, a most faithful and most charming representation of the domestic manners and social life of Germany.

Iphigenia, with her high intellectual powers, bears the nearest resemblance to Portia, in the Merchant of Venice, of all Shakespeare's characters, but the latter possesses more vivacity and life, and her actions are the spontaneous results of a healthy, happy nature, while the Grecian heroine has long been a prey to that hope deferred which maketh the heart sick : to both apply Wordsworth's lines :—

"A perfect Woman, nobly planned  
 To warn, to comfort, and command."

while of Portia only can we add—

"But yet a Spirit still, and bright,  
 With something of an angel-light."

The drama of Torquato Tasso, like that of Iphigenia, comprises a very short time. The poet gives to his patron, Al-

phonso of Ferrara, his completed poem of *Jerusalem Delivered*, in presence of Leonora of Este, the sister of the Prince, and of her friend Leonora of Scandiano. In pledge of the crown which she foresees fame will award to Tasso at the Capitol, the Princess places a wreath of Laurel on his brow. Antonio, the ambassador of Ferrara at Rome, returns at this moment, and is filled with envy at the honours conferred on the youthful bard. This leads to a quarrel, in which Tasso draws his sword. He becomes a prisoner for having thus violated the sanctity of the palace. He is afterwards set at liberty through the intercession of the Princess, and the general wish of the court; when, urged by the violence of his emotions, he confesses his long-cherished love. Alphonso discovers this, and immediately the poet pays the penalty of his rashness, in an eternal separation from the Princess.

In the character of Leonora of Este, reflection so completely predominates, that of all Shakspeare's characters she can be compared to Hamlet alone. It is this peculiarity of her mind which she herself so touchingly laments, when she reproaches herself for having delayed to recommend Tasso to the favour of Antonio, until the quarrel between them has rendered the chance of their mutual friendship almost hopeless. But we shall not quote this passage, as it does not occur among those selected. We confess ourselves such great admirers of the whole drama, that we cannot feel contented with any extracts, however beautiful, though we willingly listen to the translator's explanation of her reason for choosing those presented to us, that "the first act forms in itself a complete poem, and is rich in passages which, from the striking thoughts embodied in them, are frequently quoted in Germany, where they have acquired almost the force of aphorisms:" while the first scene of the second act was too descriptive of the peculiar temperament of the poet to be omitted. The prefixed historical notice is deeply interesting, and points out such numerous instances of the exact fidelity with which Goethe has adhered to the recorded feelings and circumstances of Tasso, that it will give fresh light to most even of those familiar with the drama. We should quote these passages, but that we have a decided objection to introducing quotations in a foreign language into a review, unless called upon by the most urgent necessity. There is a trifling inaccuracy in the statement that, "at the period of the drama, the court of Ferrara was graced by the presence of Leonora, Countess of Scandiano, a youthful bride, in whom Goethe has pourtrayed a woman eminently graceful and accomplished, but who fails to win our sympathy, because her ruling

sentiment is vanity," as we find that the painful parting from her loved friend is softened by the prospect of sharing with her husband the pleasure and pride of their son's progress: we shall quote at length from the conversation in which Leonora of Scandiano makes this remark, as it strikingly unfolds the characters of the two friends:—

LEONORA.

Duty and love both call me to my lord,  
Forsaken long. I bring to him his son,  
Whose mind and form have rapidly matured  
Since last they met,—I share his father's joy.  
Florence is great and noble, but the worth  
Of all her treasured riches doth not reach  
The prouder jewels that Ferrara boasts.  
That city to her people owes her power;  
Ferrara grew to greatness through her princes.

PRINCESS.

More through the noble men whom chance led here,  
And who for mutual happiness remain'd.

LEONORA.

Chance doth again disperse what chance collects;  
A noble nature can alone attract  
The noble and retain them, as ye do.  
Around thy brother, and around thyself,  
Assemble spirits who are worthy you,  
And ye are worthy of your noble sires.  
Here the fair light of science and free thought  
Was kindled first, while o'er the darken'd world  
Still hung barbarian gloom. E'en as a child  
The names resounded loudly in mine ear,  
Of Hercules and Hypolite of Este.  
My father oft with Florence and with Rome  
Extolled Ferrara: oft in youthful dream  
I wander'd hither, and here now I am.  
Here was Petrarca kindly entertain'd,  
And Ariosto found his models here.  
Italia boasts no great, no mighty name,  
This princely mansion hath not call'd its guest,  
In fostering genius we enrich ourselves;  
For every gift received she still bequeaths  
One far more precious. Where the good man treads  
The ground is hallow'd, and his sons shall hear  
The deathless echo of his words and deeds.

PRINCESS.

Yes, if those sons have feelings quick as thine.  
This happiness I often envy thee.



LEONORA.

Which purely and serenely thou, my friend,  
As few beside thee, dost thyself enjoy.  
When my full heart impels me to express  
Promptly and freely what I keenly feel,  
Thou feel'st the while more deeply, and—art silent.  
Delusive splendour doth not dazzle thee,  
Nor wit beguile, and flattery strives in vain  
With fawning artifice to win thine ear.  
Firm is thy temper, and correct thy taste,  
Thy judgment just, and truly great thyself,  
With greatness thou dost ever sympathize.

PRINCESS.

Thou shouldst not to this highest flattery  
The sacred garb of trusting friendship lend.

LEONORA.

Friendship is just, she estimates alone  
The full extent and measure of thy worth.  
And let me give to fortune and to chance  
Their portion in thy culture,—still 'tis thine,  
And all extol thy sister and thyself  
Before the noblest women of the age.

PRINCESS.

That can but little move me, when I think  
How poor at best we are, for what we are  
To others more indebted than ourselves.  
My knowledge of the ancient languages,  
And of the treasures by the past bequeath'd  
I owe my mother, who in varied lore  
And mental power her daughters far excell'd.  
May either of us be compared with her,  
Lucretia certainly may claim the right.  
Besides, what nature and what chance bestow'd  
I ne'er esteem'd as property or rank.  
I find with pleasure when the wise converse,  
That I can understand whate'er they say;  
Whether they judge a man of by-gone times,  
And weigh his actions, or of science treat,  
Which, when extended and applied to life,  
At once exalts and benefits mankind.  
Where'er the converse of such men may lead,  
I follow willingly, because with ease.  
Well pleased, the strife of argument I hear,  
When eloquence with graceful ease inspires  
Delight or terror in the human breast;  
And gladly listen when the man of thought  
Treats of ambition or the thirst for fame,

Seeking with subtle wisdom and fine tact,  
Not to perplex and dazzle, but instruct.

LEONORA.

And after this more grave and sage discourse,  
Our ear and inner mind with tranquil joy  
Upon the poet's tuneful verse repose,  
Who through the medium of harmonious sounds  
Infuses sweet emotions in the soul.  
Thy lofty spirit grasps a wide domain ;  
Content am I to linger in the isle  
Of poesy, her laurel groves among.

PRINCESS.

In this fair land, I'm told, the myrtle blooms  
In richer beauty than all other trees ;  
And though full many a graceful muse is there,  
A friend and playmate among them methinks  
Is not so often courted as the bard,  
Who seems to shun us, nay appears to flee,  
Still seeking something that we know not of,  
And which perchance is to himself unknown.  
How charming were it, if in happy hour  
Encountering us, he should enraptured find  
This treasure he so long and vainly sought !

LEONORA.

I to your raillery must e'en submit,  
So light its touch it passeth harmless by.  
I honour all men after their desert,  
And am in truth toward Tasso only just.  
His eye scarce lingers on this earth ; his ear  
To nature's varied harmony is tuned.  
What history offers, and what life presents,  
His bosom promptly and with joy receives.  
The widely scatter'd is by him combined,  
And his fresh feeling animates the dead.  
Oft he ennobles what we count for nought ;  
What others treasure is by him despised.  
Thus moving in his own enchanted sphere,  
The wondrous man doth still allure us on  
To wander with him and partake his joy ;  
Though seeming to approach us, he remains  
Remote as ever, and perchance his eye,  
Resting on us, sees spirits in our place.

ACT I. *Scene 1.*

We certainly are unacquainted with any work of any other poet which so fully realises intellectual and highly cultivated women conversing, without pedantry or affectation, on some of

the most refining objects of human interest. In fact, it is impossible for any woman of cultivated mind to avoid wishing that she had a friend like the Princess. We cannot part from this exquisite work without quoting from the conversation between Tasso and the Princess, the admirable description of woman's earthly paradise, so exceedingly appreciated in Germany, that the very depth of silence with which it is listened to in the theatre, has an eloquence more powerfully affecting than the loudest applause.

TASSO.

Would that of good and noble men were form'd  
A great tribunal to decide for all  
What is befitting! Then no more would each  
Esteem that right which benefits himself.  
The man of power acts ever as he lists,  
And whatsoe'er he does is deem'd befitting.

PRINCESS.

Wouldst thou define exactly what is fitting,  
Thou shouldst apply, methinks, to noble women;  
For them it most behoveth that in life  
Nought should be done unseemly or unfit:  
Propriety encircles with a wall  
The tender, weak and vulnerable sex.  
Where order reigneth, women also reign,  
And only are despised where rudeness triumphs;  
And wouldst thou touching either sex inquire,  
Decorum woman seeketh, freedom man.

TASSO.

Thou thinkest us thus unfeeling, wild and rude?

PRINCESS.

Not so! but ye with violence pursue  
A multitude of objects far remote.  
Ye venture for eternity to act,  
While we with views more narrow on this earth  
Seek only one possession, well content  
If that with constancy remain our own.  
For we, alas! are of no heart secure,  
Whate'er the ardour of its first devotion.  
Beauty is transient, which alone ye seem  
To hold in honour; what beside remains  
No longer charms,—what doth not charm is dead.  
If among men there were who knew to prize  
The heart of woman, who could recognize  
What treasures of fidelity and love  
Are garner'd safely in a woman's breast;  
If the remembrance of bright single hours

Could vividly abide within your souls ;  
 If your so searching glance could also pierce  
 The veil which age and sickness o'er us fling ;  
 If the possession which should satisfy  
 Waked no uneasy craving in your hearts ;  
 Then were our happy days indeed arrived,  
 We then should celebrate our golden age.

ACT II. *Scene I.*

In comparing Goethe with Shakspeare, we find that while he resembles our countryman in acute observation of mankind and philosophical reflection, he is deficient in that sprightliness of character and versatility of thought, of plan, and of action, which ever impart such light and airy graces to all the works of our own dramatist. In turning to Schiller, the picture is reversed: here we have action intense, energetic and nobly directed, but we miss the calm philosophy, the depth of serious meaning ever ready to underlie the sprightly frolic, and to give point to the laughing witticism. There is, however, no work of Schiller in which we are less conscious of these defects than in the 'Maid of Orleans.' The changes and chances of war teach their own moral, and tell their own tale of human purposes crossed, and man's proud ambition laid low. We require no Jaques to find 'sermons in stones;' the mighty deeds of roused and injured men proclaim that they can no longer endure a tyrant, can bow their heads no longer beneath a foreign yoke.

The noblest and purest patriotism, the most profound and most devoted love of freedom, pervaded all the thoughts and aspirations of Schiller; he therefore moved so naturally and habitually within this sphere, that he has been enabled to present us with a woman acting and living in it, with all the dignity and grace which in general can be imparted only to the more familiar situations. So easy was to him this habitual elevation, that he was compelled to violate the truth of history, and give an episode of love in order to make the Maid of Orleans level to our ordinary sympathies, lest, in fact, she should be too bright and good for our heartfelt appreciation. The introductory notice points out this and other departures from historic truth, with a just appreciation of the æsthetic reasons which induced Schiller to shrink from introducing on the stage the too fearful catastrophe of her actual fate. This period of history not being in general very accurately known, will cause the whole to be perused with great interest, particularly the quotations from the original authorities.

The plan of the drama is rather complicated. It opens with a prologue, in which Thibaut of Arc, the father of Joan, declares



his resolution of bestowing his three daughters in marriage, as their hands have long been sought. The two eldest consent, but Joan urges her youth and pleads for delay. In the mean time a mysterious helmet is brought to her as a signal for commencing her meditated mission, and she leads on the disheartened troops to certain victory. She is then brought into the presence of the king, and promises that he shall be crowned at Rheims. All goes on triumphantly until she spares from love the life of Lionel, an English commander, and thus breaks the spell of the Virgin Mary's protection. She fulfils, however, her mission, of conducting the king to Rheims, but, accused of witchcraft by her father, and conscious of having suffered an earthly attachment to share those thoughts which should have been constantly devoted to her holy mission, she is silent, which being construed into a confession of guilt, she is driven from the French camp. She then wanders about in unknown paths, devotedly attended upon by her early suitor Raimond, until she is taken prisoner by the English; then bound by heavy chains, she is guarded by Isabel of France, the unnatural ally of England, until finding that her king has been taken prisoner, and having dismissed every earthly thought from her mind, she bursts her fetters, and restores victory by her presence to her countrymen. Pierced in the contest, she expires supported by the monarch who owes to her his life and crown.

The scene where Joan's father presses her to accept Raimond's addresses, is so beautifully descriptive of her character, that we are tempted to transcribe it, though fearing to overstep the limits assigned to us.

THIBAUT.

Thy sisters, Joan, will soon be happy brides ;  
I see them gladly, they rejoice my age,  
But thou, my youngest, givest me grief and pain.

RAIMOND.

What is the matter ? why upbraid thy child ?

THIBAUT.

Here is this noble youth, the flower and pride  
Of all our village ; he hath fix'd on thee  
His fond affections, and for three long years  
Has woo'd thee with respectful tenderness,  
But thou dost thrust him back with cold reserve ;  
Nor is there one 'mong all our shepherd youths  
Who e'er can win a gracious smile from thee.  
I see thee blooming in thy youthful prime ;  
Thy spring it is, the joyous time of hope ;

Thy person, like a tender flower, has now  
 Disclosed its beauty, but I look in vain  
 For love's sweet blossom from its bud to burst,  
 And gaily ripen into golden fruit !  
 Oh ! that must ever grieve me, and betrays  
 Some sad deficiency in nature's work !  
 The heart I like not, which, severe and cold,  
 Expands not in the genial years of youth.

RAIMOND.

Forbear, good father ! do not hurry her.  
 The love of my Johanna is indeed  
 A noble, tender fruit, of heavenly growth,  
 And gradually the costly is matured.  
 Still she delights to range among the hills,  
 And fears descending from the wild free heath,  
 To tarry 'neath the lowly roofs of men,  
 Where dwell the narrow cares of humble life.  
 From the deep vale, with silent wonder oft  
 I've marked her, standing on a lofty hill,  
 Surrounded by her flock ; with noble form  
 And earnest gaze bent on the world beneath,  
 Looking, methought, as if from other times  
 She came foreboding things of import high.

THIBAUT.

'Tis that precisely which displeases me ;  
 She shuns her sisters' gay companionship,  
 Seeks out the wildest mountains, leaves her couch  
 Before the crowing of the morning cock,  
 And in the dreaded hour when men are wont  
 Confidingly to seek their fellow men,  
 She, like the solitary bird, creeps forth,  
 And in the fearful spirit-realm of night  
 To yon crossway repairs, and there alone  
 Holds secret commune with the mountain wind.  
 Why does she always choose that lonely place ?  
 Why ever there precisely drive her herd ?  
 For hours together, I have seen her sit  
 In dreamy musing 'neath the Druid tree,  
 Which every happy creature shuns with awe ;  
 For 'tis not holy there ; an evil spirit  
 Hath since the fearful pagan days of old  
 Beneath its branches fix'd its dread abode.  
 The oldest of our villagers relate  
 Strange tales of horror of the Druid tree :  
 'Tis said that from its dark mysterious shade  
 Unearthly voices often meet the ear ;  
 And once, when in the gloomy twilight hour  
 My pathway led me past it, I myself

Beheld a female spectre sitting there,  
Which slowly from its long and ample robe  
Stretch'd forth its wither'd hand, and beckon'd me ;  
But on I went with speed, nor look'd behind,  
And to the care of God consign'd my soul.

RAIMOND (*pointing to an image of the virgin*).  
Not evil spirits lead thy daughter there,  
But yonder image, whose blest influence sheds  
The peace of Heaven through all the neighbouring air.

THIBAUT.

No ! not in vain hath it in fearful dreams  
And apparitions strange revealed itself.  
For three successive nights I have beheld  
Johanna sitting on the throne at Rheims,  
A sparkling diadem of seven stars  
Upon her brow, the sceptre in her hand,  
And I, her sisters, and the noble peers,  
The earls, archbishops, nay the king himself,  
Bow'd down before her. In my humble home  
How could this splendour enter my poor brain ?  
Oh 'tis the prelude to some fearful fall !  
This warning dream reveals her vain desires ;  
She looks with shame upon her lowly birth,  
Because her gracious God with nobler charms  
Hath graced her person, and endow'd her mind  
Beyond the other maidens of the vale.  
She in her heart indulges sinful pride ;  
And pride it was by which the angels fell,  
And evil spirits first seduced mankind.

RAIMOND.

Who cherishes a purer, humbler mind  
Than doth thy gentle daughter ? Does she not  
With cheerful spirit work her sisters' will ?  
She is more highly gifted far than they,  
Yet, like a servant maiden, it is she  
Who silently performs the humblest tasks.  
Under her guiding care thy corn and herds  
Thrive strangely, and there flows round all she does  
An unaccountable prosperity.

THIBAUT.

An unaccountable prosperity !  
In truth this blessing fills me with dismay. <sup>1</sup>  
But now no more ; I henceforth will be silent.  
Shall I accuse my own beloved child ?  
I can do nought but warn and pray for her.  
Yet warn I must. Oh, shun the Druid tree !  
Stay not alone, for in the wilderness  
The evil spirit tempted e'en our Lord.

PROLOGUE. *Scene 2.*

Schiller particularly excels in the poems introduced into his plays; as, for instance, that which opens the 3rd Act of "*Mary Stuart*," where the Queen rejoices in her new-found liberty; and also that containing the Soliloquy of Beatrice, the Bride of Messina, in the garden, where she pours forth all the experience of her innocent and happy life; and again, that in which Joan of Arc beautifully touches on the incidents of her former peaceful existence, after having received the helmet. This latter poem we give entire:—

Farewell ye mountains, ye beloved glades,  
Ye silent, peaceful valleys, fare ye well!  
Through you Johanna never more may stray,  
Johanna bids you all a long farewell.  
Ye meads in which I wander'd! and ye trees,  
Which I have planted, bloom in beauty still!  
Farewell ye grottos and ye crystal springs!  
And thou, sweet vocal spirit of the vale,  
Who sang'st responsive to my simple strain,  
Johanna goes and ne'er returns again!

Ye scenes of all my peaceful, heartfelt joys,  
For ever now I leave you far behind!  
My gentle lambs, poor flock without a fold,  
O'er the wide heath now wander unconfined;  
For I am call'd another flock to tend,  
Where armies on the field of battle blend.  
This hath the holy spirit's voice made known;  
No earthly motive drives me forth alone.

For he who once on Horeb's sacred height,  
Appear'd to Moses in the bush of flame,  
And bade him go and stand in Pharaoh's sight,—  
He who to Israel's pious shepherd came,  
And sent him forth his champion in the fight,—  
He who hath ever loved the shepherd train,  
Thus whisper'd from the branches of this tree,  
"Go forth! thou shalt on earth my witness be.

"Rude armour now must clothe thy tender frame,  
Thy bosom heave beneath a plate of steel.  
No mortal there may kindle earthly flame,  
Thy heart the glow of passion ne'er may feel,  
For thee no hand the bridal wreath shall twine,  
No smiling infant on thy knee be nursed,  
But war's triumphant glory shall be thine,  
And thou of women shalt be deem'd the first.



“ For when the most courageous hearts despair,  
When humbled France is just about to yield,  
Then thou my conquering oriflamme shalt bare,  
And, like a reaper in the harvest-field,  
Mow down the haughty victors to the ground ;  
Thou soon shalt turn the wheel of fortune round,  
To Gaul’s heroic sons deliverance bring,  
Retrieve beleaguer’d Rheims, and crown the king.”

The holy spirit promised me a sign ;  
He sends the helmet, it hath come from him ;  
Its touch endues me with a strength divine ;  
I feel the courage of the Cherubim !  
It drives me forth the din of war to find,  
Its power impels me like the rushing wind ;  
I hear the charger’s neigh, the trumpet’s sound,  
And the loud war-cry echo shrilly round.

PROLOGUE. *Scene 3.*

Of the style of the translation we have said nothing, preferring to leave our readers to form their judgment of its merit, from the extracts we have given : every one must perceive that the verse is smooth and harmonious, and no one acquainted with the original can fail to be struck with its great fidelity and accuracy.

ART. V.—PAST AND PRESENT. By THOMAS CARLYLE.  
12mo. pp. 399. London: Chapman and Hall.

NONE but the devoted admirers of Mr. Carlyle will read his books. Those to whom his style is an abomination are quickly wearied or disgusted, and throw up the task in despair. Readers who desire in a nutshell to find the gist of the matter, open his pages, and immediately are whirled away in such vortices of words and cloudy emblems, that they speedily come to the conclusion that their own small wits are more likely to be of use to them in getting an insight into any given question, than such broken and patched meaning as they are likely to collect from a writer who has forsworn simplicity, and delights in tripping up the heels of his reader. We are not about to enter on the subject of Mr. Carlyle's style. We would allow to every man his own instruments of art, and see what he will make of them. A man must work with his own tools. But as a model,—in relation to the *imitatorum pecus*,—it is a bad example in literature, and the apes of so fantastic an original are in every way detestable.

Mr. Carlyle's great talent is in his power of presenting pictures, and animating them with a gleam of the profoundest practical truth, and the most healing sympathy. A flash of ideal light mingles with the vivid realities he sets before you; and the actual is painted by one who cannot forbear placing by its side the work of a reconciling spirit. If he is largely endowed with either the philosophic or the logical faculty he does not make very ample use of them,—he gives neither connected reasonings nor views,—but he sees into the *heart* of things. The amount of thought in this his last work cannot be considered great. It relates nothing remarkable either of the Past or the Present,—and it offers not one new suggestion for the Future. Its facts and its remedies, in plain prose, would gain small notice. But the Poet is everywhere,—and the old things become new. Evils that you indolently acknowledge and lament, glare upon you terribly. Sympathies that stir you languidly, become throes of pity, yearnings of love towards suffering fellow-beings. Social arrangements which you had looked on as mere anomalies, assume monstrous shapes, and are as horrors in your eyes. No greater service could be rendered to a people than this faithful picturing of their social condition, by one whose heart is full of the true conservative leaven of a Christian regard for man, and it is a thousand pities that these true pictures should be impene-

trably concealed, from all but very obstinate and persevering eyes, by the clouds and whirlwinds with which they are compassed about. If Mr. Carlyle produces his good things under a necessity of a twin birth of these monstrosities, we must not complain of so unlucky a conjunction,—and endeavour as we can to prevent the one from strangling the other.

In the present article we would perform the humble office of effecting this separation, and presenting to our readers some delineations of the Past and Present, which they will be much the better for being acquainted with,—but which, we verily believe, without some such aid, have small chance, with the many, of being duly considered. The lowly service we undertake will oblige us to forego criticism.

The Book opens with a picture of the Condition of England as it is represented by the thousands and thousands of “the strongest and cunningest and willingest workers the earth ever had,” either starving from the want of employment, or consuming miserably in Workhouses what ought to be productively expended as the wages of Labour. Mr. Carlyle is an advocate for Poor Laws, and yet he affixes the odious and degrading name of Bastilles to the publicly-provided Dwellings of the Poor. This we doubt not is done with the view of painting the wretchedness and gloominess of their condition, rather than of ascribing tyranny or hardness to the Law. But Mr. Carlyle is not always careful how he lends himself to an unjust and incensed, if it is only a natural, prejudice.

“Of these successful skilful workers, some two millions, it is now counted, sit in Workhouses, Poor-law Prisons; or have ‘out-door relief’ flung over the wall to them,—the workhouse Bastille being filled to bursting, and the strong Poor-Law broken asunder by a stronger. They sit there these many months now; their hope of deliverance as yet small; in workhouses, pleasantly so named, because work cannot be done in them. Twelve hundred thousand workers in England alone; their cunning right hand lamed, lying idle in their sorrowful bosoms; their hopes, outlooks, share of this fair world, shut in by narrow walls. They sit there, pent up, as in a kind of horrid enchantment; glad to be imprisoned and enchanted, that they may not perish starved. The picturesque Tourist, in a sunny Autumn day, through this bounteous realm of England, descries the Union Workhouse on his path. ‘Passing by the Workhouse of St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, on a bright day last autumn,’ says the picturesque Tourist, ‘I saw sitting on wooden benches, in front of their Bastille and within their ring-wall and its railings, some half hundred or more of these men. Tall robust figures, young mostly or of middle age; of honest countenance, many of them thoughtful and even intelligent-looking men. They sat there, near by one another; but in a kind of torpor, especially in a silence which was very striking.

In silence: for alas, what word was to be said? An Earth all lying around, crying, Come and till me, come and reap me;—yet we here sit enchanted! In the eyes and brows of these men hung the gloomiest expression, not of anger, but of grief and shame, and manifold inarticulate distress and weariness; they returned my glance with a glance that seemed to say, “Do not look at us. We sit here enchanted, we know not why. The Sun shines and the Earth calls; and by the governing Powers and Impotences of this England, we are forbidden to obey. It is impossible they tell us!” There was something that reminded me of Dante’s Hell in the look of all this; and I rode swiftly away.’

“So many hundred thousands sit in workhouses; and other hundred thousands have not yet got even workhouses; and in thrifty Scotland itself, in Glasgow or Edinburgh City, in their dark lanes, hidden from all but the eye of God, and of rare Benevolence the minister of God, there are scenes of woe and destitution and desolation, such as, one may hope, the Sun never saw before in the most barbarous regions where men dwelt.”  
—P. 3.

In the midst of all this misery and want, which has still more terrible indications than the gloom of workhouses,—the murder of children for the sake of the bounty on death, from “burial societies,”—there is untold wealth in England, and power of Production absolutely without a limit,—and here is the “root of bitterness fast springing up” into a national upas tree. Pining, starving, dejected, and degraded men know that there are but two conditions of prosperity and universal wealth, Production and Distribution; they know that their power to produce is unbounded, and they feel that universal Distribution, and consequent plenty and comfort, is prevented, not by the Laws of Providence, but by Landlord Merchants, who, having a certain amount of Corn to sell, or, what is the same thing, having Rents to receive whose amount rises with the dearness of Corn, have resolved to exchange that limited quantity of Corn against all the wealth of England, though the starvation of some, the abject degradation of more, and the plunder of all, should be the inevitable result. Infinite power of Production, and no power of Distribution,—this is the present state of the Condition of England!

“This successful industry of England, with its plethoric wealth, has as yet made nobody rich; it is an enchanted wealth, and belongs yet to nobody. We might ask, Which of us has it enriched? We can spend thousands where we once spent hundreds; but can purchase nothing good with them. In Poor and Rich, instead of noble thrift and plenty, there is idle luxury alternating with mean scarcity and inability. We have sumptuous garnitures for our Life, but have forgotten to live in the middle of them. It is an enchanted wealth; no man of us can yet touch it. The class of men who feel that they are truly better off by means of it, let them give us their name!



"Many men eat finer cookery, drink dearer liquors, with what advantage they can report, and their Doctors can: but in the heart of them, if we go out of the dyspeptic stomach, what increase of blessedness is there? Are they better, beautifuller, stronger, braver? Are they even what they call 'happier?' Do they look with satisfaction on more things and human faces in this God's-Earth; do more things and human faces look with satisfaction on them? Not so. Human faces gloom discordantly, disloyally on one another. Things, if it be not mere cotton and iron things, are growing disobedient to man. The Master Worker is enchanted, for the present, like his Workhouse Workman; clamours, in vain hitherto, for a very simple sort of 'Liberty: the liberty 'to buy where he finds it cheapest, to sell where he finds it dearest.' With guineas jingling in every pocket, he was no whit richer; but now, the very guineas threatening to vanish, he feels that he is poor indeed. Poor Master Worker! And the Master *Unworker*, is not he in a still fataller situation? Pausing amid his game-preserves, with awful eye,—as he well may! Coercing fifty-pound tenants; coercing, bribing, cajoling; doing what he likes with his own. His mouth full of loud futilities, and arguments to prove the excellence of his Corn-law; and in his heart the blackest misgiving, a desperate half-consciousness that his excellent Corn-law is *indefensible*, that his loud arguments for it are of a kind to strike men too literally *dumb*."—P. 7.

Such is the Condition of England: and the question is,—what does Justice to all require to be done in this condition? This is the Problem which the Sphinx now proposes to us, and which we must solve, or be destroyed. The Just is the alone successful, the eternally safe. What is it? What does Justice now demand for the people of England? The "Manchester Insurrection" is one attempt at an answer, or, at least, a demand for an answer. "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work" sounds *just* enough; and that there is Power in the community to accomplish so desirable a consummation, Political Economy, speaking through the mouth of the Anti-Corn-law League, has been demonstrating wherever discontent exists,—and that is over the length and breadth of the land. The "Manchester Insurrection" states this case to the country,—and then retires, and waits patiently, and is still waiting for an answer.

"Behold us here, so many thousands, millions, and increasing at the rate of fifty every hour. We are right willing and able to work; and on the Planet Earth is plenty of work and wages for a million times as many. We ask, If you mean to lead us towards work; to try to lead us,—by ways new, never yet heard of till this new unheard-of Time? Or if you declare that you cannot lead us? And expect that we are to remain quietly unled, and in a composed manner perish of starvation? What is it you expect of us? What is it you mean to do with us? This question, I say, has been put in the hearing of all Britain; and will be again put, and ever again, till some answer be given it."—P. 23.

Mr. Carlyle in his characteristic way states this Condition of England question, which may be summed up thus,—Infinite power of production, and no power of distribution.

“What is the use of your spun shirts? They hang there by the million unsaleable; and here, by the million, are diligent bare backs that can get no hold of them. Shirts are useful for covering human backs; useless otherwise, an unbearable mockery otherwise. You have fallen terribly behind with that side of the problem! Manchester Insurrections, French Revolutions, and thousandfold phenomena great and small, announce loudly that you must bring it forward a little again.”  
—P. 28.

For this condition of things there is no one remedy; above all no *external* remedy,—in Mr. Carlyle’s quaint image, no Morrison’s Pill; unless indeed it be his own Morrison’s pill, Hero-Worship,—a perception and appreciation of the legitimate guides and leaders of a people. But this involves not one thing, but many things; and will come from no outward measure, but from “the inner fountains of life.” The Life-fountain once purified and set flowing, all good things will have a beginning; “not Emigration, Education, Corn-Law Abrogation, Sanitary Regulation, Land Property-Tax; not these alone, nor a thousand times as much as these. Good Heavens, there will then be light in the inner heart of here and there a man, to discern what is just, what is commanded by the Most High God, what *must* be done, were it never so ‘impossible.’ Vain jargon in favour of the palpably unjust will then abridge itself within limits. Vain jargon, on Hustings, in Parliaments, or wherever else, when here and there a man has vision for the essential God’s-Truth of the things jargoned of, will become very vain indeed.” Instead of seeking some ‘remedial measure,’ we must become a nation of earnest, true, and *just* men, believing that Justice only can prosper in God’s world, and that our most urgent interest is to find it, and do it. We must descend into the inner man, “and see if there be any traces of a *soul* there; till then there can be nothing done. O brother, we must if possible resuscitate some soul and conscience in us, exchange our dilettantisms for sincerities, our dead hearts of stone for living hearts of flesh. Then shall we discern, not one thing, but, in clearer or dimmer sequence, a whole endless host of things that can be done. Not any Universal Morrison’s Pill shall we then, either as swallowers or as vendors, ask after at all; but a far different sort of remedies: Quacks shall no more have dominion over us, but true Heroes and Healers!”

The great want of England is that of a true Governing Class,

of men at the direction of affairs who love first and supremely the Just, the Right. Parliamentary elections, and Municipal elections, show how far the people are from the 'spiritual discernment' which may enable them to discover and to reverence such men. Here is a picture, satirical and ridiculous, but who will say, not true, of the Electors of England, of the men who must find the *governing class*, on the proper finding of which the national salvation depends.

"The true eye for talent presupposes the true reverence for it,—O Heavens, presupposes so many things!

"For example, you Bobus Higgins, Sausage-maker on the great scale, who are raising such a clamour for this Aristocracy of Talent, what is it that *you* do, in that big heart of yours, chiefly in very fact pay reverence to? Is it to talent, intrinsic manly worth of any kind, you unfortunate Bobus? The manliest man that you saw going in a ragged coat, did you ever reverence him; did you so much as know that he was a manly man at all, till his coat grew better? Talent! I understand you to be able to worship the fame of Talent, the power, cash, celebrity or other success of Talent; but the talent itself is a thing you never saw with eyes. Nay, what is it in yourself that you are proudest of, that you take most pleasure in surveying meditatively in thoughtful moments? Speak now, is it the bare Bobus stript of his very name and shirt, and turned loose upon society, that you admire and thank Heaven for; or Bobus with his Cash-accounts, and larders dropping fatness, with his respectabilities, warm garnitures, and pony-chaise, admirable in some measure to certain of the flunkey species? Your own degree of worth and talent, is it of *infinite* value to you; or only of finite,—measurable by the degree of currency, and conquest of praise or pudding, it has brought you to? Bobus, you are in a vicious circle, rounder than one of your own sausages; and will never vote for or promote any talent, except what talent or sham-talent has already *got* itself voted for!————

"'More wisdom' indeed: but, where to find more Wisdom? We have already a Collective Wisdom, after its kind,—though 'class-legislation,' and another thing or two, affect it somewhat! On the whole, as they say, Like people like priest; so we may say, Like people like king. The man gets himself appointed and elected who is ablest—to be appointed and elected. What can the incorruptiblest *Bobuses* elect, if it be not some *Bobissimus*, should they find such?"—P. 41.

Our Author's, or, as he pleases to call himself, the present Editor's, remedy,—a true mind and soul in the people, enabling them to know Wisdom and Heroism when they see it, that they may reverence *it* only, and choose it to rule over them,—is undoubtedly the only one,—and certainly Nature and her Laws, at least, by retribution and punishment, by stripes and scourg-



ings, are now kindly compelling us to seek this knowledge, to look out for this way of life.

The Second Part of Mr. Carlyle's Work, called 'The Ancient Monk,' is introduced for the sake of contrasting the Past with the Present, in those respects in which the present is deemed most defective by our author; in the earnest simplicity of a religious sentiment in connection with daily life, and in hero-worship, or the due appreciation of wisdom and true governing power. It is one of the most interesting, though, in its logical relations, the weakest part of the work. Monastic life in the twelfth century is described with wonderful vividness; yet every thing seems in sad disorder except the spirit of one monk. If Abbot Samson was so masterful, what are we to say of drivelling Abbot Hugo, his immediate predecessor? If a faculty for selecting the right governor characterized those times, how came Abbot Hugo to be elected? Or does Mr. Carlyle mean that the state of society, and the condition of the people, was better in the twelfth, than in the present century? This would be a sentimental conclusion from a monk's chronicle, of which he is incapable. However he finds, or thinks he finds, a certain soul and spirit in that age, which is the 'one thing needful' of this,—and so far as this needfulness is concerned we heartily concur. In the first place he finds in that age, what he certainly will not find in this,—a Religion, which, like their daily bread, men lived and did their work upon, without talking much about it.

"One of the things that strike us most, throughout, in Jocelin's *Chronicle*, and indeed in Eadmer's *Anselm*, and other old monastic Books, written evidently by pious men, is this, That there is almost no mention whatever of 'personal religion' in them; that the whole gist of their thinking and speculation seems to be 'the privileges of our order,' 'strict exaction of our dues,' 'God's honour,' (meaning the honour of our Saint), and so forth. Is not this singular? A body of men, set apart for perfecting and purifying their own souls, do not seem disturbed about that in any measure: the 'Ideal' says nothing about its idea; says much about finding bed and board for itself! How is this?

"Why, for one thing, bed and board are a matter very apt to come to speech: it is much easier to *speak* of them than of ideas; and they are sometimes much more pressing with some! Nay, for another thing, may not this religious reliance in these devout good souls be perhaps a merit, and sign of health in them? Jocelin, Eadmer, and such religious men, have as yet nothing of 'Methodism;' no Doubt or even root of Doubt. Religion is not a diseased self-inspection, an agonising inquiry: their duties are clear to them, the way of supreme good, plain, indisputable, and they are travelling on it. Religion lies over them like an all-embracing, heavenly canopy, like an



atmosphere and life-element, which is not spoken of, which in all things is pre-supposed without speech. Is not serene or complete Religion the highest aspect of human nature; as serene Cant, complete No-religion, is the lowest and miserablest?"—P. 81.

The next thing, lamentably wanting in the Present, Mr. Carlyle discovers in the Past of the twelfth century, is the ability and the will to elect the right man as ruler. This is shown in the election of the vigorous, downright, righteous monk Samson to be Lord Abbot; though again we must ask who chose Abbot Hugo,—and would the Fraternity, who winced and rebelled under the strict hand of authority, have chosen another Abbot Samson at the next election? Be that as it may, the faculty of electing the *right Ruler* is indispensable, and is wanting in these days.

"But is not this, at any rate, a singular aspect of what political and social capabilities, nay let us say what depth and opulence of true social vitality, lay in those old barbarous ages? That the fit Governor could be met with under such disguises, could be recognised and laid hold of under such? Here he is discovered with a maximum of two shillings in his pocket, and a leather scrip round his neck; trudging along the high-way, his frock-skirts looped over his arm. They think this is he nevertheless, the true Governor; and he proves to be so. Brethren, have we no need of discovering true Governors, but will sham ones for ever do for us? These were absurd superstitious blockheads of Monks; and *we* are enlightened Ten-pound Franchisers, without taxes on knowledge! Where, I say, are our superior, are our similar or at all comparable discoveries? We also have eyes, or ought to have; we have hustings, telescopes; we have lights, link-lights and rush-lights of an enlightened free Press, burning and dancing everywhere, as in a universal torch-dance; singeing your whiskers as you traverse the public thoroughfares in town and country. Great souls, true Governors, go about under all manner of disguises, now as then. Such telescopes, such enlightenment,—and such discovery! How comes it, I say; how comes it? Is it not lamentable; is it not even, in some sense, amazing?"

Another thing to be inferred from the case of Abbot Samson, and to be applied to these times, is this, that the best preparation for Ruling, is an apprenticeship to obeying. What earnest sympathy with mankind lies hid in the following pungent truths:—

"Walk this world with no friend in it but God and St. Edmund, you will either fall into the ditch, or learn a good many things. To learn obeying is the fundamental act of governing. How much would many a Serene Highness have learned, had he travelled through the world with water-jug and empty wallet, *sine omni expensa*; and, at his victorious

Return, sat down, not to newspaper paragraphs and city-illuminations, but at the foot of St. Edmund's Shrine to shackles and bread and water! He that cannot be servant of many, will never be master, true guide and deliverer of many;—that is the meaning of true mastership. Had not the Monk-life extraordinary 'political capabilities' in it; if not imitable by us, yet enviable? Heavens, had a Duke of Logwood, now rolling sumptuously to his place in the Collective Wisdom, but himself happened to plough daily, at one time, on seven and sixpence a-week, with no out-door relief,—what a light, unquenchable by logic and statistic and arithmetic, would it have thrown on several things for him."—P. 119.

We cannot give the circumstances with which Mr. Carlyle, drawing from the *Chronicle*, invests this Monk-age with reality,—but we have now mentioned the properties belonging to it, in which he deems it a contrast with the Present. They were in earnest; they had hearts full of reverence; a Faith which satisfied them; and a Law of Duty which no man questioned.

"The great antique heart: how like a child's in its simplicity, like a man's in its earnest solemnity and depth! Heaven lies over him where-soever he goes or stands on the earth; making all the earth a mystic temple to him, the Earth's business all a kind of worship. Glimpses of bright creatures flash in the common sun-light; angels yet hover, doing God's messages among men: that rainbow was set in the clouds by the hand of God! Wonder, miracle encompass the man; he lives in an element of miracle; Heaven's splendour over his head, Hell's darkness under his feet. A great Law of Duty, high as these two Infinitudes, dwarfing all else, annihilating all else,—making royal Richard as small as peasant Samson, smaller if need be!—The 'imaginative faculties?' 'Rude poetic ages?' The 'primeval poetic element?' O for God's sake, good reader, talk no more of all that! It was not a Dilettantism this of Abbot Samson. It was a Reality, and it is one. The garment only of it is dead; the essence of it lives through all Time and all Eternity!

"And truly, as we said above, is not this comparative silence of Abbot Samson as to his religion, precisely the healthiest sign of him and of it? 'The Unconscious is the alone Complete.' Abbot Samson all along a busy working man, as all men are bound to be, his religion, his worship was like his daily bread to him;—which he did not take the trouble to talk much about;—which he merely ate at stated intervals, and lived and did his work upon! This is Abbot Samson's Catholicism of the Twelfth Century;—something like the *Ism* of all true men in all true centuries, I fancy! Alas, compared with any of the *Isms* current in these poor days, what a thing! Compared with the respectablest, morbid, struggling Methodism, never so earnest; with the respectablest, ghastly, dead or galvanised Dilettantism, never so spasmodic!

"Methodism with its eye for ever turned on its own navel; asking itself with torturing anxiety of Hope and Fear, 'Am I right, am I wrong? Shall I be saved, shall I not be damned?'—What is this, at bottom, but

a new phasis of *Egoism*, stretched out into the infinite; not always the heavenlier for its infinitude! Brother, so soon as possible, endeavour to rise above all that. —

“But of our Dilettantisms, and galvanised Dilettantisms; of Puseyism — O Heavens, what shall we say of Puseyism, in comparison to Twelfth-Century Catholicism? Little or nothing; for indeed it is a matter to strike one dumb.

The Builder of this Universe was wise,  
He plann'd all souls, all systems, planets, particles:  
The Plan He shap'd His Worlds and Æons by  
Was — — Heavens! — Was thy small Nine-and-thirty Articles?

That certain human souls, living on this practical Earth, should think to save themselves and a ruined world by noisy theoretic demonstrations and laudations of *the Church*, instead of some unnoisy, unconscious, but *practical*, total, heart and soul demonstration of *a Church*: this, in the circle of revolving ages, this also was a thing we were to see. A kind of penultimate thing, precursor of very strange consummations; last thing but one? If there is no atmosphere, what will it serve a man to demonstrate the excellence of lungs? How much profitabler when you can, like Abbot Samson, breathe; and go along your way!” — P. 159.

The Third Part of Mr. Carlyle's book introduces the various classes of modern workers and *un-workers*, — all of them in contrast with the earnest trustful spirit of the Ancient Monk, — all of them, according to Mr. Carlyle, dispensing with a soul of Truth and Honesty, — working only for the sake of the *wages*, and if those can be *got*, not caring whether any real work is done or not. Men ‘have forgotten God,’ and every thing now-a-days, in our author's slang, is *Sham*.

The Pope of Rome has ceased to believe in himself, gives his blessing to the people with the aid of Machinery; and, to save himself the trouble of kneeling, has got constructed a stuffed cloaked figure of iron and wood, with wool or baked hair. “To this stuffed rump, he, sitting at his ease on a lower level, joins, by the aid of cloaks and drapery, his living head and outspread hands: the rump with its cloaks kneels, the Pope looks, and holds his hands spread; and so the two in concert bless the Roman population on *Corpus-Christi Day*, as well as they can.”

The Hatter in the Strand of London, instead of making good hats as he might do, devotes his whole ingenuity to the task of *persuading* the world that he *does* make good hats, and so he builds a lath and plaister hat, eleven feet high, and sends it round the town upon wheels. All is Puffery; every man is his own Trumpeter; and calls on ‘a discerning Public,’ to *reward* him.

“O, it is frightful when a whole Nation, as our Fathers used to say, has ‘forgotten God,’ has remembered only Mammon, and what Mammon

leads to! When your self-trumpeting Hatmaker is the emblem of almost all makers, and workers, and men that make any thing,—from soul overseerships, body-overseerships, epic poems, acts of parliament, to hats and shoe-blackings! Not one false man but does uncountable mischief: how much, in a generation or two, will Twenty-seven Millions, mostly false, manage to accumulate?"—P. 195.

Amid these phantasies there is one reality, one thing we are entirely in earnest about,—the making of money. According to the gospel of Mammonism the first Desire is, success in money making,—the highest fear, the terror of not succeeding in the world. This working Mammonism divides the world with an unworking Aristocracy, whose Gospel of Dilettantism, according to Mr. Carlyle, is to do nothing, but to keep up rents, preserve game, and 'go gracefully idle in May-fair.'

So, on the one side, we have a Mammon world:

"We call it a Society; and go about professing openly the totalest separation, isolation. Our life is not a mutual helpfulness; but rather, cloaked under due laws-of-war, named 'fair competition,' and so forth, it is a mutual hostility. We have profoundly forgotten every where that *Cash-payment* is not the sole relation of human beings; we think, nothing doubting, that it absolves and liquidates all engagements of man. 'My starving workers?' answers the rich Mill-owner: 'Did not I hire them fairly in the market? Did I not pay them to the last sixpence, the sum covenanted for? What have I to do with them more?'—Verily Mammon-worship is a melancholy creed. When Cain, for his own behoof, had killed Abel, and was questioned, 'Where is thy brother?' he too made answer, 'Am I my brother's keeper?'—P. 198.

On the other side we have a game-preserving, corn-lawing Aristocracy, with impotent, insolent Donothingism in Practice, and Saynothingism in Speech:

"A Corn-Law demonstrating itself openly for ten years or more, with 'arguments' to make the angels, and some other classes of creatures, weep! For men are not ashamed to rise in Parliament and elsewhere, and speak the things they do *not* think. 'Expediency,' 'Necessities of Party,' &c. &c.! It is not known that the Tongue of man is a sacred organ; that Man himself is definable in Philosophy as an 'Incarnate Word;' the Word not there, you have no Man there either, but a Phantasm instead! In this way it is that Absurdities may live long enough,—still walking, and talking for themselves, years and decades after the brains are quite out!"—P. 204.

In one thing both these Classes are agreed, in the *Atheism* of seeking last "the kingdom of God and His righteousness," and seeking *first*, "the other things." 'Every pitifullest whipster that walks within a skin, has his head filled with the notion



that he is, shall be, or by all human and divine laws ought to be "happy." His wishes, the pitifullest whipster's, are to be fulfilled for him; his days, the pitifullest whipster's, are to flow on in ever gentle current of enjoyment, impossible even for the gods. The prophets preach to us,—Thou shalt be happy; thou shalt love pleasant things, and find them. The people clamour, Why have we not found pleasant things? We construct our theory of Human Duties, not on any Greatest-Nobleness Principle, never so mistaken; no, but on a Greatest-Happiness Principle.'

With a Happiness-seeking People, the most powerful workers upon Earth, however patient, inarticulate, thick-skinned, and conservative they may naturally be, the following is a state of things not likely to be for ever endured,—and if the Mammonism of those who *work* for their Happiness come into collision with the Dilettantism of those who only idle and do mischief for it, the contest will be as that of iron against clay:

"*Creditor* an English People by fifteen hundred years of good Labour; and *Debtor* to lodging in Enchanted Poor Law Bastilles: *Creditor* by conquering the largest Empire the Sun ever saw; and *Debtor* to Do-nothingism and 'Impossible' written on all departments of the government thereof: *Creditor* by Mountains of gold ingots earned; and *Debtor* to No Bread purchasable by them." \* \* \* \*

"O my Conservative friends, who still specially name and struggle to approve yourselves 'Conservative,' would to Heaven I could persuade you of this world-old fact, than which Fate is not surer, That Truth and Justice alone are *capable* of being 'conserved' and preserved! The thing which is unjust, which is *not* according to God's Law, will you, in God's Universe, try to conserve that? It is so old, say you? Yes, and the hotter haste ought *you*, of all others, to be in to let it grow no older! If but the faintest whisper in your hearts intimate to you that it is not fair,—hasten, for the sake of Conservatism itself, to probe it rigorously, to cast it forth at once and for ever if guilty. How will or can you preserve *it*, the thing that is not fair? 'Impossibility' a thousand fold is marked on that. And ye call yourselves Conservatives, Aristocracies:—ought not honour and nobleness of mind, if they had departed from all the Earth elsewhere, to find their last refuge with you? Ye unfortunate!

"The bough that is dead shall be cut away, for the sake of the tree itself. Old? Yes, it is too old. Many a weary winter has it swung and creaked there, and gnawed and fretted, with its dead wood, the organic substance and still living fibre of this good tree; many a long summer has its ugly naked brown defaced the fair green umbrage; every day it has done mischief, and that only: off with it, for the tree's sake, if for nothing more; let the Conservatism that would preserve cut *it* away. Did no wood-forester apprise you that a dead bough, with its dead root left sticking there, is extraneous, poisonous; is as a dead iron spike, some horrid rusty ploughshare driven into the living substance;—nay is far worse; for in every windstorm ('commercial crisis' or the like), it

frets and creaks, jolts itself to and fro, and cannot lie quiet as your dead iron spike would!

“If I were the Conservative Party of England (which is another bold figure of speech), I would not for a hundred thousand pounds an hour allow those Corn-Laws to continue! Potosi and Golconda put together would not purchase my assent to them. Do you count what treasuries of bitter indignation they are laying up for you in every just English heart? Do you know what questions, not as to Corn-prices and Sliding-scales alone, they are *forcing* every reflective Englishman to ask himself? Questions insoluble, or hitherto unsolved; deeper than any of our Logic-plummets hitherto will sound: questions deep enough,—which it were better that we did not name even in thought! You are forcing us to think of them, to begin uttering them. The utterance of them is begun; and where will it be ended, think you? When two millions of one’s brother-men sit in Workhouses, and five millions, as is insolently said, ‘rejoice in potatoes,’ there are various things that must be begun, let them end where they can.”—P. 223.

The Conservative, Corn-lawing Aristocracy propose to mitigate the outrageous practical absurdity of “Infinite Production and no Distribution,”—not by providing better for the distribution of food and clothing to the hungry and the naked,—but, the naked continuing unclothed, and the hungry unfed, there are to be less shirtings, &c. in the warehouses of the Manufacturers. One would suppose that the obvious and the *human* way of mitigating the evil, was to increase the Distribution, until, at last, all the bare backs were covered; but no,—the two terms, of Production and Distribution, can be brought into agreement, as well by reducing the one as by expanding the other,—and though the naked and hungry remain naked and hungry, Production is kept down to Distribution, and *rents* rise. A naked population, and gluts in the warehouses! Over-production, say Corn Law Lords! Defective Distribution, say the starving and uncovered people of England! Unlimited supply of clothing and utensils in England; unlimited supply of Corn in America; and the English without either clothing, furniture, or Corn,—the Americans without Clothing and Utensils! Could there be any difficulty in finding the remedy here, if men were really set upon “loving mercy, and doing justly, and walking humbly with their God?” But “Overproduction,”—while there is hunger and nakedness in England, and unbounded wealth which half the world would take, and give Corn in Exchange, is certainly the *coolest* attempt at reducing Production and Distribution to theoretic harmony, that the infatuation of privilege and selfishness ever ventured upon. To dare to speak of “over-production” to a famished people, instead of honestly looking out for some method of Distribution,

is an extreme proof of the suicidal nature of selfishness, that God brings upon it judicial blindness.

"We accuse you of overproducing: you are criminally guilty of producing shirts, breeches, hats, shoes, and commodities, in a frightful over-abundance. . . . Never surely, against an earnest working Mammonism was there brought, by Game-preserving aristocratic Dilettantism, a stranger accusation, since this world began. My lords and gentlemen, —why, it was *you* that were appointed, by the fact and by the theory of your position on the earth, to 'make and administer Laws,'—that is to say, in a world such as ours, to guard against 'gluts;' against honest operatives, who had done their work, remaining unfed! I say *you* were appointed to preside over the Distribution and Apportionment of Wages of Work done; and to see well that there went no labourer without his hire, were it of money-coins, were it of hemp gallows-ropes: that function was yours, and from immemorial time has been; yours, and as yet no other's. These poor shirt-spinners have forgotten much, which by the virtual unwritten law of their position they should have remembered: but by any written recognised law of their position, what have they forgotten? They were set to make shirts. The Community with all its voices commanded them, saying, 'Make shirts;'—and there the shirts are! Too many shirts? Well, that is a novelty, in this intemperate Earth, with its nine-hundred millions of bare backs! But the community commanded *you*, saying, 'See that the shirts are well apportioned, that our Human Laws be emblem of God's Laws;'—and where is the apportionment? Two millions shirtless or ill-shirted workers sit enchanted in Workhouse Bastilles, five millions more (according to some) in Ugolino Hunger-cellars; and for remedy you say, —what say you?—'Raise *our* rents!' I have not in my time heard any stranger speech, not even on the Shores of the Dead Sea. You continue addressing these poor shirt-spinners and over-producers, in really a *too* triumphant manner:

"Will you bandy accusations, will you accuse *us* of over-production? We take the Heavens and the Earth to witness that we have produced nothing at all. Not from us proceeds this frightful overplus of shirts. In the wide domains of created Nature, circulates no shirt or thing of our producing. Certain fox-brushes nailed upon our stable-door, the fruit of fair audacity at Melton Mowbray; these we have produced, and they are openly nailed up there. He that accuses us of producing, let him show himself, let him name what and when. We are innocent of producing;—ye ungrateful, what mountains of things have we not, on the contrary, had to 'consume,' and make away with!"—P. 232.

There is a terrible energy in the following appeal to the Nothing-producing, "*much-consuming*" Aristocracy, which makes even the fantastic style in which it is conveyed sound like natural language.

"Who made the Land of England?—'We!' answer the much-consuming Aristocracy; 'We!' as they ride in, moist with the sweat of



Melton Mowbray: 'It is we that made it; or are the heirs, assigns and representatives of those who did!'—My brothers, You? Everlasting honour to you then, then; and Corn-Laws as many as you will; till your own deep stomachs cry Enough, or some voice of human pity for our famine bids you Hold! Ye are as gods, that can create soil. Soil-creating gods there is no withstanding. They have the might to sell wheat at what price they list; and the right to all lengths, and famine lengths,—if they be pitiless infernal gods! Celestial gods, I think, would stop short of the famine price; but no infernal nor any kind of god can be bidden stop!—Insatuated mortals, into what questions are you driving every thinking man in England?

"I say, you did *not* make the Land of England; and, by the possession of it, you *are* bound to furnish guidance and governance to England! That is the law of your position on this God's-Earth; an everlasting act of Heaven's Parliament, not repealable in St. Stephen's or elsewhere! True government and guidance; not no government and Laissez-faire; how much less *mis*government and Corn-Law! There is not an imprisoned Worker looking out from these Bastilles but appeals, very audibly in Heaven's High Courts, against you, and me, and every one who is not imprisoned, 'Why am I here?' His appeal is audible in Heaven; and will become audible enough on Earth too, if it remain unheeded here. His appeal is against *you*, foremost of all; you stand in the front rank of the accused; you, by the very place you hold, have first of all to answer him and Heaven!

"What looks maddest, miserablest in these mad and miserable Corn-Laws is independent altogether of their 'effect on wages,' their effect on 'increase of trade,' or any other such effect: it is the continual maddening proof they protrude into the faces of all men, that our Governing Class, called by God and Nature and the inflexible law of Fact, either to do something towards governing, or to die and be abolished,—have not yet learned even to sit still, and do no mischief! For no Anti-Corn-Law League yet asks more of them than this;—Nature and Fact, very imperatively, asking so much more of them. Anti-Corn-Law League asks not, Do something; but, Cease your destructive misdoing. Do ye nothing!

"Nature's message will have itself obeyed: messages of mere Free-Trade, Anti-Corn-Law League and Laissez-faire, will then need small obeying!—Ye fools, in name of Heaven, work, work, at the Ark of Deliverance for yourselves and us, while hours are still granted you! No: instead of working at the Ark, they say, 'We cannot get our hands kept rightly warm;' and *sit obstinately burning the planks*. No madder spectacle at present exhibits itself under this Sun."—P. 239.

We cannot withhold, notwithstanding the extent of extract already made, the noble exposition of the functions and duties of an Aristocracy, and the inevitable fate of a Class that assume its privileges, but forego its Duties.

"A High Class without duties to do is like a tree planted on precipices; from the roots of which all the earth has been crumbling. Nature



owns no man who is not a Martyr withal. Is there a man who pretends to live luxuriously housed up; screened from all work, from want, danger, hardship, the victory over which is what we name work;—he himself to sit serene, amid down bolsters and appliances, and have all his work and battling done by other men? And such man calls himself a noble-man? His fathers worked for him, he says; or successfully gambled for him: here *he* sits; professes, not in sorrow but in pride, that he and his have done no work, time out of mind. It is the law of the land, and is thought to be the law of the Universe, that he, alone of recorded men, shall have no task laid on him, except that of eating his cooked victuals, and not flinging himself out of window. Once more I will say, there was no stranger spectacle ever shown under this Sun. A veritable fact in our England of the Nineteenth Century. His victuals he does eat; but as for keeping in the inside of the window, have not his friends, like me, enough to do? Truly, looking at his Corn-Laws, Game-Laws, Chandos-Clauses, Bribery-Elections and much else, you do shudder over the tumbling and plunging he makes, held back by the lappelles and coat-skirts; only a thin fence of window glass before him,—and in the street mere horrid iron spikes! My sick brother, as in hospital-maladies men do, thou dreamest of Paradises and Eldorados, which are far from thee. ‘Cannot I do what I like with my own?’ Gracious Heaven, my brother, this that thou seest with those sick eyes is no firm Eldorado, and Corn-Law Paradise of Donothings, but a dream of thy own fevered brain. It is a glass-window I tell thee, so many stories from the street; where are iron spikes and the law of gravitation!

“What is the meaning of nobleness, if this be ‘noble?’ In a valiant suffering for others, not in a slothful making others suffer for us, did nobleness ever lie. The chief of men is he who stands in the van of men; fronting the peril which frightens back all others; which, if it be not vanquished, will devour the others. Every noble crown is, and on Earth will for ever be, a crown of thorns.”—P. 242.

Both the working and the *unworking* Aristocracies of England, the Manufacturer and the Land-owner, have, according to Mr. Carlyle, forgotten the spiritual leaven of Human Brotherhood, and regard “Cash payment” as the only “Nexus” of Society. But the First, in so far as he is a *Worker*, is still in some communication with Nature and God’s Laws,—the Latter, in so far as he is an *unworker*, is an anomaly in the Universe, that cannot endure. Yet, without this spiritual sentiment, without this new *Soul* in Society, even if a period of relief and prosperity should arise from Corn-Law abrogation and Free Trade, the suspension of our present evils will be but temporary, and without internal healing and health, we shall exhaust our breathing time, and fill up again with our miseries the new room that commercial freedom and activity may, for a season, create for us.

“ Were the Corn-Laws ended to-morrow, there is nothing yet ended ; there is only room made for all manner of things beginning. The Corn-Laws gone, and Trade made free, it is as good as certain, this paralysis of industry will pass away. We shall have another period of commercial enterprise, of victory and prosperity ; during which, it is likely, much money will again be made, and all the people may, by the extant methods, still for a space of years be kept alive and physically fed. The strangling band of famine will be loosened from our necks ; we shall have room again to breathe ; time to bethink ourselves, to repent and consider ! A precious and thrice-precious space of years ; wherein to struggle as for life in reforming our foul ways ; in alleviating, instructing, regulating our people ; seeking, as for life, that something like spiritual food be imparted them, some real governance and guidance be provided them ! It will be a priceless time. For our new period or paroxysm of commercial prosperity will and can, on the old methods of ‘ Competition and Devil take the hindmost,’ prove but a paroxysm : a new paroxysm,—likely enough, if we do not use it better, to be our *last*. In this, of itself, is no salvation. If our Trade in twenty years, ‘ flourishing ’ as never Trade flourished, could double itself ; yet then also, by the old *Laissez-faire* method, our Population is doubled : we shall then be as we are, only twice as many of us, twice and ten times as unmanageable ! ”—P. 250.

The Salvation of Society depends upon “ Work,” generously and nobly performed, for its own true ends, the conquest of Disorder, Ignorance, Sin, Chaos,—and not for money wages, bed and board. What *wages* can reward a Man for the work of his Life?—his true rewards lie far away in and through Eternity,—his wages but serve to sustain his Life that he may be able to work for his true rewards. But the Earnest Worker, the Conqueror of Disorder, is so far in harmony with Nature’s appointments and regulations.

“ It has been written, ‘ an endless significance lies in Work ; ’ a man perfects himself by working. Foul jungles are cleared away, fair seed-fields rise instead, and stately cities ; and withal the man himself first ceases to be a jungle and foul unwholesome desert thereby. Consider how, even in the meanest sorts of Labour, the whole soul of a man is composed into a kind of real harmony, the instant he sets himself to work ! Doubt, Desire, Sorrow, Remorse, Indignation, Despair itself,—all these like hell-dogs lie beleaguering the soul of the poor day-worker, as of every man : but he bends himself with free valour against his task, and all these are stilled, all these shrink murmuring far off into their caves. The man is now a man. The blessed glow of labour in him, is as purifying fire, wherein all poison is burnt up, and of sour smoke itself there is made bright blessed flame ! \* \* \*

“ Blessed is he who has found his work ; let him ask no other blessedness. He has a work, a life purpose ; he has found it, and will follow it ! How, as a free flowing channel, dug and torn by noble force

through the sour mud-swamp of one's existence, like an ever deepening river there, it runs and flows;—draining off the sour festering water, gradually from the root of the remotest grass-blade; making, instead of pestilential swamp, a green fruitful meadow with its clear flowing stream. How blessed for the meadow itself, let the stream and *its* value be great or small! Labour is Life: from the inmost heart of the worker rises his god-given Force, the sacred celestial Life-essence breathed into him by Almighty God; from his inmost heart awakens him to all nobleness,—to all knowledge, 'self-knowledge' and much else, so soon as Work fitly begins. Knowledge? The knowledge that will hold good in working, cleave thou to that; for Nature herself accredits that, says Yea to that. Properly thou hast no other knowledge but what thou hast got by working: the rest is yet all a hypothesis of knowledge; a thing to be argued of in schools, a thing floating in the clouds, in endless logic vortices, till we try it, and fix it. 'Doubt, of whatever kind, can be ended by Action alone.' \* \* \*

"All true Work is sacred; in all true Work, were it but true hand-labour, there is something of divineness. Labour, wide as the Earth, has its summit in Heaven. Sweat of the brow; and up from that to sweat of the brain, sweat of the heart; which includes all Kepler calculations, Newton meditations, all Sciences, all spoken Epics, all acted Heroisms, Martyrdoms,—up to that 'Agony of bloody sweat,' which all men have called divine! O brother, if this is not 'worship,' then I say, the more pity for worship; for this is the noblest thing yet discovered under God's sky. Who art thou that complainest of thy life of toil? Complain not. Look up, my wearied brother; see thy fellow Workmen there, in God's Eternity; surviving there, they alone surviving: sacred band of the Immortals, celestial Bodyguard of the Empire of Mankind. Even in the weak Human Memory they survive, so long, as saints, as heroes, as gods; they alone surviving; peopling, they alone, the unmeasured solitudes of Time! To thee Heaven, though severe, is *not* unkind; Heaven is kind,—as a noble Mother; as that Spartan Mother, saying while she gave her son his shield, 'With it, my son, or upon it!' Thou too shalt return *home* in honour; to thy far distant Home, in honour; doubt it not,—if in the battle thou keep thy shield! Thou, in the Eternities and deepest Death-kingdoms art not an alien; thou everywhere art a denizen! Complain not; the very Spartans did not *complain*. \* \* \*

"My brother, the brave man has to give his Life away. Give it, I advise thee;—thou dost not expect to *sell* thy Life in an adequate manner? What price, for example, would content thee? The just price of thy *LIFE* to thee,—why, God's entire Creation to thyself, the whole Universe of Space, the whole Eternity of Time, and what they hold: that is the price which would content thee; that, and if thou wilt be candid, nothing short of that! It is thy all; and for it thou wouldst have all. Thou art an unreasonable mortal;—or rather thou art a poor *infinite* mortal, who, in thy narrow clay-prison here, *seemest* so unreasonable! Thou wilt never sell thy Life, or any part of thy Life, in a satisfactory manner. Give it, like a royal heart; let the



price be Nothing; thou *hast* then, in a certain sense, got All for it! The heroic man,—and is not every man, God be thanked, a potential hero?—has to do so, in all times and circumstances. In the most heroic age, as in the most unheroic, he will have to say, as Burns said proudly and humbly of his little Scottish Songs, little dewdrops of Celestial Melody in an age when so much was unmelodious: ‘By Heaven, they shall either be invaluable or of no value; I do not need your guineas for them!’ It is an element which should, and must, enter deeply into all settlements of wages here below. They never will be ‘satisfactory’ otherwise; they cannot, O Mammon Gospel, they never can! Money for my little piece of work ‘to the extent that will allow me to keep working;’ yes, this,—unless you mean that I shall go my ways *before* the work is all taken out of me; but as to ‘wages’—!—”  
—P. 275.

All things, at present, are tending to a Democracy; an Aristocracy, working or unworking, of Mills or Lands, that fails to guide the people wisely and safely, hastens that result,—but whilst the People are taking up, in despair, with ‘Liberty,’ and ‘Universal Suffrage,’ they too are forgetting the only Liberty that can save them, moral Liberty, power over degrading habits in themselves, and temptations in the world.

“The Liberty of not being oppressed by your fellow men is an indispensable, yet one of the most insignificant-fractional parts of Human Liberty. No man oppresses thee, can bid thee fetch or carry, come or go, without reason shown. True; from all men thou art emancipated: but from thyself and from the Devil—? No man wiser, unwiser, can make thee come or go: but thy own futilities, bewilderments, thy false appetites for Money, Windsor Georges and such like? No man oppresses thee, O free and independent Franchiser; but does not this stupid Porter-pot oppress thee? No Son of Adam can bid thee come or go; but this absurd Pot of Heavy-wet, this can and does! Thou art the thrall, not of Cedric the Saxon, but of thy own brutal appetites, and this scoured dish of liquor. And thou pratest of thy ‘liberty?’ Thou entire blockhead! \* \* \* \* \*

“The notion that a man’s liberty consists in giving his vote at election-hustings, and saying, ‘Behold now I too have my twenty-thousandth part of a Talker in our National Palaver; will not all the gods be good to me?’—is one of the pleasantest!”—P. 293.

The most vital want of the Millions is not ‘Liberty’ but wise Direction; true Guidance instead of false Guidance; power to know, which would speedily bring along with it power to choose, genuine Governors.

“If the convulsive struggles of the last half-century have taught poor struggling convulsed Europe any truth, it may perhaps be this as the essence of innumerable others; that Europe requires a real Aristocracy, a real Priesthood, or it cannot continue to exist.”



“Aristocracy and Priesthood, a Governing Class, and a Teaching Class: these two, sometimes separate and endeavouring to harmonise themselves, sometimes conjoined as one, and the King a Pontiff-King:—there did no Society exist without these two vital elements, there will none exist. It lies in the very nature of man: you will visit no remotest village in the most republican country of the world, where virtually or actually you do not find these two powers at work. Man, little as he may suppose it, is necessitated to obey superiors. He is a social being in virtue of this necessity; nay, he could not be gregarious otherwise. He obeys those whom he esteems better than himself, wiser, braver; and will for ever obey such; and even be ready and delighted to do it.”  
—P. 324.

The Fourth part of Mr. Carlyle’s work, which he calls ‘Horoscope,’ is occupied with the Prospect we have of obtaining these two vital Remedies, a true *teaching* and a true *governing* Class; a legitimate *Spiritual Guideship*, and a legitimate *practical Governorship*,—an *Aristocracy* of talent, knowledge, magnanimity, *beneficent Power*.

The necessity of a teaching, of a *speaking*, and preaching Class, miserably as they have failed of their functions, and wandered from their duties,—the necessity of such a Class, as a perennial part of the healing influences of mankind, is seen and stated in a way that does infinite credit to the simplicity and fervour of Mr. Carlyle’s moral nature. To say nothing of the multitudes whom only the living voice of instruction can reach, which may be a constantly diminishing quantity, there is an energy imparted to generous sentiments when heartily spoken in the presence of our fellow-men, and a divine response and sympathy elicited, which in this world, where all truly spiritual work is matter of *faith*, will ever render the earnest and inspired utterance of noble Truth, an essential part of the higher guidance and animation of the soul. They must know little indeed of the true ‘Epic’ in man, who suppose that the written will ever supersede the spoken Word,—or contribute more effectually to the ‘Word made flesh,’ the true Divine.

“There is not a hamlet where poor peasants congregate, but by one means and another a Church-Apparatus has been got together,—roofed edifice with revenues and belfries; pulpit, reading-desk, with Books and Methods: possibility, in short, and strict prescription. That a man stand there and speak of spiritual things to men. It is beautiful;—even in its great obscurity and decadence, it is among the beautifullest, most touching objects one sees on the Earth. This Speaking Man has indeed, in these times, wandered terribly from the point; has, alas, as it were, totally lost sight of the point; yet, at bottom, whom have we to compare with him? Of all public functionaries boarded and lodged

on the Industry of Modern Europe, is there one worthier of the board he has? A man even professing, and never so languidly making still some endeavour, to save the souls of men: contrast him with a man professing to do little but shoot the partridges of men! I wish he could find the point again, this Speaking One; and stick to it with tenacity, with deadly energy; for there is need of him yet! The Speaking Function, this of Truth coming to us with a living voice, nay in a living shape, and as a concrete practical Exemplar: this, with all our Writing and Printing Functions, has a perennial place. Could he but find the point again,—take the old spectacles off his nose, and looking up discover, almost in contact with him, what the *real* Satanas, and soul-devouring, world-devouring *Devil*, now is! Original Sin and such like are bad enough, I doubt not; but distilled Gin, dark Ignorance, Stupidity, dark Corn-Law, Bastille and Company, what are they? *Will* he discover our new real Satan whom he has to fight; or go on droning through his old nose-spectacles about old extinct Satans; and never see the real one, till he *feel* him at his own throat and ours? That is a question, for the world!"—P. 326.

With regard to a right Governing Class, Mr. Carlyle thinks that we must look out for it by other than the existing methods, now that it seems the conclusion of practical men that Bribery at Elections cannot be put down. A Parliament which proclaims that fact to the Nation, our Author reasonably thinks, has made avowal of its own Corruption, and unfitness to remain as it is.

"And is it come to this? And does our venerable Parliament announce itself elected and eligible in this manner? Surely such a Parliament promulgates strange horoscopes of itself. What is to become of a Parliament elected or eligible in this manner? Unless Belial and Beelzebub have got possession of the throne of this Universe, such Parliament is preparing itself for new Reform-bills. We shall have to try it by Chartism, or any conceivable *ism*, rather than put up with this! There is already in England 'religion' enough to get six hundred and fifty-eight Consulting Men brought together who do *not* begin work with a lie in their mouth. Our poor old Parliament, thousands of years old, is still good for something, for several things;—though many are beginning to ask, with ominous anxiety in these days: For what thing? But for whatever thing or things Parliament be good, indisputably it must start with other than a lie in its mouth! On the whole, a Parliament working with a lie in its mouth, will have to take itself away. To no Parliament or thing, that one has heard of, did this Universe ever long yield harbour on that footing. At all hours of the day and night, some Chartism is advancing, some armed Cromwell is advancing, to apprise such Parliament: 'Ye are no Parliament. In the name of God, —go.'"—P. 340.

The *Leader* England now has, Mr. Carlyle characterises by a

name, Sir Jabesh Windbag: the Leader that England requires he thus describes:—

“ A Prime Minister, even here in England, who shall dare believe the heavenly omens, and address himself like a man and hero to the great dumb-struggling heart of England; and speak out for it, and act out for it, the God’s-Justice it is writhing to get uttered and perishing for want of,—yes, he too will see awaken around him, in passionate burning all-defiant loyalty, the heart of England, and such a ‘support’ as no Division-List or Parliamentary Majority was ever yet known to yield a man! Here as there, now as then, he who can and dare trust the heavenly Immensities, all earthly Localities are subject to him. We will pray for such a Man and First-Lord;—yes, and far better, we will strive and incessantly make ready, each of us, to be worthy to serve and second such a First-Lord! We shall then be as good as sure of his arriving; sure of many things, let him arrive or not.”—P. 349.

After the abrogation of the Corn-Laws, which is “the beginning of the end,” and indispensable to the commencement of anything good, Mr. Carlyle regards the then remedial Measures within the power of a Government to be, a right Education Bill; effective and generous Sanitary Regulations; and “a free bridge for Emigrants.” With our author’s method of introducing the two former of these Measures we must bring to a close this long analysis, and longer extracts.

“ Are not Sanitary Regulations possible for a Legislature? The old Romans had their *Ædiles*; who would, I think, in direct contravention to supply and demand, have rigorously seen rammed up into total abolition many a foul cellar in our Southwarks, Saint Gileses, and dark poison-lanes; saying sternly, ‘Shall a Roman man dwell there?’ The Legislature at whatever cost of consequences, would have had to answer, ‘God forbid!’—The Legislature, even as it now is, could order all dingy Manufacturing Towns to cease from their soot and darkness; to let in the blessed sunlight, the blue of Heaven, and become clear and clean; to burn their coal-smoke, namely, and make flame of it. Baths, free air, a wholesome temperature, ceilings twenty feet high, might be ordained by Act of Parliament, in all establishments licensed as Mills. There are such Mills already extant;—honour to the builders of them! The Legislature can say to others: Go ye and do likewise; better if you can.

“ Every toiling Manchester, its smoke and soot all burnt, ought it not, among so many world-wide conquests, to have a hundred acres or so of free green field, with trees on it, conquered, for its little children to disport in; for its all-conquering workers to take a breath of twilight air in? You would say so! A willing Legislature could say so with effect. A willing Legislature could say very many things! And to whatsoever ‘vested interest,’ or such like, stood up, gainsaying merely, ‘I shall lose profits,’—the willing Legislature would answer, ‘Yes, but



my sons and daughters will gain health, and life, and a soul.' 'What is to become of our Cotton-Trade?' cried certain Spinners, when the Factory-Bill was proposed; 'What is to become of our invaluable Cotton-trade?' The Humanity of England answered steadfastly: 'Deliver me these rickety perishing souls of infants, and let your Cotton-trade take its chance. God himself commands the one thing: not God especially the other thing. We cannot have prosperous Cotton-trades at the expense of keeping the Devil a partner in them!'—

"Bills enough, were the Corn-Law Abrogation Bill once passed, and a Legislature willing! Nay this one Bill, which lies yet unenacted, a right Education Bill, is not this of itself the sure parent of innumerable wise Bills,—wise regulations, practical methods and proposals, gradually ripening towards the state of Bills? To irradiate with intelligence, that is to say, with order, arrangement and all blessedness, the Chaotic, Unintelligent: how, except by educating, *can* you accomplish this? That thought, reflection, articulate utterance and understanding be awakened in these individual million heads, which are the atoms of your Chaos: there is no other way of illuminating any Chaos! The sum total of intelligence that is found in it, determines the extent of order that is possible for your Chaos,—the feasibility and rationality of what your Chaos will dimly demand from you, and will gladly obey when proposed by you! It is an exact equation; the one accurately measures the other. If the whole English People, during these 'twenty years of respite,' be not educated, with at least schoolmaster's educating, a tremendous responsibility, before God and men, will rest somewhere! How dare any man, especially a man calling himself minister of God, stand up in any Parliament or place, under any pretext or delusion, and for a day or an hour, forbid God's Light to come into the world, and bid the Devil's Darkness continue in it one hour more! For all light and science, under all shapes, in all degrees of perfection, is of God; all darkness, nescience, is of the Enemy of God. 'The schoolmaster's creed is somewhat awry?' Yes, I have found few creeds entirely correct; few light-beams shining *white*, pure of admixture; but of all creeds and religions now or ever before known, was not that of thoughtless thriftless Animalism, of Distilled Gin, and Stupor and Despair, unspeakably the least Orthodox? We will exchange *it* even with Paganism, with Fetishism; and, on the whole, must exchange it with something." —P. 357.

Mr. Carlyle contemplates 'permanence of contract' between the Manufacturer and the workman as one of the elements indispensable to a healthy condition of the relations between them. The workman must regard himself as a member of a society, as a friend and client whose interests the Mill-Owner will not conceive himself at liberty to disregard, except so far as he can use his labour for his own benefit. In a free and prosperous condition of Trade it is likely that this connexion between employed and employer would spontaneously appear; but that the Mill-Owner, when depressed himself, should dis-



of men, who, when living, could not possibly support a common lectureship, and meet at the same altar, should die with purposes of mutual endowment?—that Dr. Williams, e. g. expelled as Mr. Wilson admits, with insult and calumny from the pulpit he had adorned, and driven with his friends to create and dedicate a new church, should leave his benefactions to his slanderers?—that, of two parties whom no negotiation, no “articles of peace,” no presence of enemies, no expostulations of friends, could hold together in “happy union” for three years, the one should be the proper and natural representative of the other, and heir to all its foundations? We are satisfied that rather than rest in so wonderful a conclusion, judicial ingenuity would have to explore the whole of our English Christendom for a more hopeful claimant, until litigation perish of inanition. And is it not plain, that if the claim of these parties were ever so good, the time is passed when it could be justly preferred? They have neglected the obligation which the state must impose on all, as a condition for the enjoyment of such rights,—“You must look after them betimes, and let us know when anything goes wrong.” These persons have for seventy or a hundred years forborne all complaint. They have allowed generations of the heretical dead to be buried with their fathers, the faithless among the faithful. They have stood by through the dawn of the educational period of the last and present century, and seen the school-house of the “blasphemer” rise by the chapel of the “saint.” They have waited in patience, while the fund of the widow, and the provision for the orphan, grew around the place of prayer. They have remained passive, while the rude conventicles crumbled away and were abandoned, and structures with something of higher art arose, and the penurious precentor was exchanged for the rich organ and cultivated choir. They have accepted without murmur the aid, and we may fairly say, the *lead* of their “unbelieving” neighbours in the long struggles which have achieved the victory of religious liberty. And now, they stretch forth their capacious hand over the accretions of a century, and mildly say, “All this is ours!” Can any just man deny that it is becoming in the legislature to interpose and say, “No, it is too late for this?”

The case, then, of vindication of the principle of this Bill, is complete. In its details we think there is an imperfection well deserving the attention of those whom it is intended to benefit. The imperfection was pointed out by Lord Sandon on the second reading, but gained little attention. Should any person in a congregation legally challenge an existing doctrine or prac-

reverence done to Human Worth by the hearts of men. Hero-worship, in the souls of the heroic, of the clear and wise,—it is the perpetual presence of Heaven in our poor Earth: when it is not there, Heaven is veiled from us; and all is under Heaven's ban and interdict, and there is no worship, or worth-ship, or worth or blessedness in the Earth any more!"—P. 383.

Here we close, with the expression of one deep regret, that Mr. Carlyle by the style he has *adopted*, for it was not his original one, has chosen notoriety rather than Fame; to be the admired of a few admirers among contemporaries, rather than to be numbered among the perennial feeders of the heart of man. We know not of a single exception from the Law, that Posterity has no remembrance of those who, in their day and generation, delighted themselves in affectations, and fantastic tricks. The severe taste of the collective judgment of mankind tolerates no mannerisms. Genius itself is unable to confer immortality upon eccentricities,—or rather the highest Genius is incompatible with them. Mr. Carlyle has the power to produce an interest deeper far than any arising from the tickle of his style, but many will not believe it.

## ART. VI.—THE SCOTTISH CHURCH QUESTION.

WITHIN these few weeks, four hundred and sixty ordained ministers of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland have, along with a still larger proportion of lay office bearers and members, withdrawn, in a quiet and orderly manner, from their connexion with the State; and have thus sacrificed and renounced the advantages and emoluments of a Church establishment.

An event like this—so rare in the annals of religion—calls for an investigation into the causes which have led to it; and, however difficult the task may be, we shall endeavour to present our readers with a candid and impartial account of the origin, the history, and the results of this disruption in the Scottish Church.

It will at once, however, occur to every thoughtful mind that the recent struggles betwixt the Church of Scotland and the Civil Courts will not, of themselves, furnish a satisfactory explanation of what has taken place; and that much light may be thrown upon the controversy, by looking back into that Church's History. This preliminary inquiry will, at all events, form a good preparation for understanding, more clearly, the precise points in dispute, when we come to notice them; and is on that account, if for no other reason, desirable, and indeed indispensable.

Christianity is supposed to have been introduced by the Culdees into Scotland in the end of the second, or more probably in the course of the third century. The history of these early times is lost in tradition; but it is conjectured that the Culdees, whose name is synonymous with religious refugees, fled, about that period, from the Roman dominions, and found a safe retreat in the Western Islands of Scotland, in one of which (Iona), they afterwards established a council or college, resembling, in some respects, a Presbyterian Assembly.

The Culdees had made considerable advancement in diffusing their religious principles throughout different parts of the kingdom, where their progress was impeded by the appearance, in the seventh century, of Augustine, the Popish monk, to whose mission, in conjunction with the fierce and distracting wars of the subsequent centuries, may be traced the entire suppression of the Culdees, and the complete establishment of Popery throughout Scotland.

This happened in the thirteenth century. For three hundred years afterwards the people of Scotland struggled against Popery

—many of them submitting to persecution and martyrdom for the vindication of their religious rights, and strengthening each other's hands by entering into solemn bonds of union, called the first and second Covenants.

At length, on the 17th of August 1560, the Scottish Convention of Estates “professed, ratified, and approved” the first confession of faith prepared by the Protestant Reformers; and, seven days after, the Convention also “abolished the Papal jurisdiction; prohibited, under certain penalties, the celebration of mass; and rescinded all the laws formerly made in support of the Roman Catholic Church and against the Reformed Faith.”\*

On the 20th of December, in the same year, the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met, in order “to consult upon those things which are to forward God’s glory, and the weal of his Kirk in this realm.” The meeting of this Assembly was not appointed by Parliament. It met of its own accord; and, without other authority than its own, it proceeded to construct a system of Ecclesiastical government, known by the name of the *first* book of discipline. In this book the following passages occur, illustrative of the ideas entertained of the people’s ecclesiastical rights by Knox and other early Reformers who framed it,—one of whom says,† “They took not their example from any Kirk in the world—no not from Geneva.” The passages referred to are these:—

“It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their minister.

“For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation; but this liberty, with all care, must be reserved to every several Church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers.

“The admission of ministers to their offices must consist in the consent of the people and Church whereto they shall be appointed, and approbation of the learned ministers appointed for their examination.”‡

These are strong sentiments; but it must be acknowledged that the First Book of Discipline, in which they are contained, though subscribed and approved by a number of the Nobility and Barons, was never recognised by Parliament.

The act passed by the Convention of Estates, in 1560, was, however, ratified by Parliament in 1567, after fifteen General Assemblies had in the interim been held by the Church. By the statute of 1567, the status of these assemblies is tacitly

\* M. Sorie.

† Row.

‡ First Book of Discipline.



sanctioned;—the reformed Confession of faith is adopted; the reformed Church is acknowledged to be “the only true and holy Kirk of Jesus Christ within this realm;”—“the examination and admission of ministers” is allowed to be only in the power of the Kirk; and it is declared that “there be no other jurisdiction ecclesiastical acknowledged within this realm other than that which is and shall be within the same Kirk, or that flows therefrom, concerniug the premises.” At the same time “the presentation of laic patronages is reserved to the just and ancient patrons;” with a provision that, if the inferior Church courts refuse to receive a qualified presentee, the patron may “appeal to the General Assembly of this haill realm, by whom the cause being decided shall take end, as they shall decern and declare.”

Such is the substance of the statutes passed in 1567, establishing, for the first time, the Presbyterian Church as a Church in connexion with the State.

But the Church was soon involved in new struggles regarding its jurisdiction and discipline, which led to the preparation, by Andrew Melville and others (as a Committee of Assembly), of what is called the *Second Book of Discipline*. This Book was approved of by the General Assembly in 1578; and was afterwards the subject of a conference betwixt commissioners named by that body, and commissioners named by Parliament. At this conference the following, among other articles, were agreed to by the latter:—

“In this ordinary election (of a minister) it is to be eschewed that no person be intruded in any of the offices of the Church contrary to the will of the congregation, to whom they are appointed, or without the voice of the eldership.”

“They (the Church) have power also to abrogate all statutes and ordinances, concerning ecclesiastical matters, that are found noisome and unprofitable, and agree not with the time, or are abused by the people.”\*

These concessions, however, did not involve any repeal of patronage, or any substantial interference with the rights of patrons.

Such an alteration was not at this time contemplated by either party. But neither was it contemplated that the Church’s functions in the admission and ordination of ministers (collation) should be limited or abridged. The Church’s views on both points may be gathered from the following message sent by the Assembly to Queen Mary, in 1565:—“Our mind is not that her Majesty, or any other Patron, should be deprived of their

just patronages, but we mean, whensoever her Majesty, or any other patron, do present any person into a benefice, that the person presented should be tried and examined by the judgment of learned men of the Church, such as are the present superintendents; and, as the presentation unto the benefice appertains unto the Patron, so the collation by law and reason belongs unto the Church; and the Church should not be defrauded of the collation no more than the patrons of their presentation; for otherwise, if it be lawful to the patrons to present whom they please without trial or examination, what can abide in the Church of God, but mere ignorance?"

In 1579, 1581 and 1592, the Statutes of 1567 were renewed by Parliament, but without any specific allusion to the Second Book of Discipline, although that Book, solemnly recorded as it was, *ad perpetuam rei memorium*, in the records of Assembly, must have been in the eye of the Legislature when, by the renewal Act of 1592, which has since been denominated "The Great Charter of the Church of Scotland," they ratified and approved the "haill jurisdiction and discipline of the Kirk," while, at the same time, they provided that the presbyteries of the Kirk should be "bound and astricted to receive and admit whatever qualified Minister was presented by his Majesty or other laic patrons."

In 1649 patronage was abolished by Parliament;—and the election of Ministers was transferred to Kirk Sessions and Congregations, "on whom none is to be obtruded against their will;" but that act was repealed at the restoration, and was not subsequently enacted.

Passing over the hundred years after 1592, during which Statutes upon Statutes were passed subversive of the Presbyterian Church Government, we come to the period of the Revolution, when all those obnoxious acts were repealed, when the Confession of Faith was approved, and when the Statute of 1592 was again revived and restored, save and except as to the rights of Patrons, which, in consideration of a trifling pecuniary compensation to be made to them, were, at the Revolution, transferred to the Heritors and Elders of the respective Parishes, to the effect of authorizing them to "name and propose the person (Minister) to the whole Congregation, to be approven or disapproven by them,"—the disapprovers being bound, however, "to give in their reasons, to the effect the affair may be cognosced upon by the Presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination, the calling and entry of a particular Minister is to be ordered and concluded."\*

\* Act 1690, c. 23.

We come next in the order of dates, to the Union of Scotland with England. So jealous were the Scotch, by this time, on the subject of their Presbyterian rights, that, in appointing Commissioners to negotiate the Union, the Scottish Parliament (1705) expressly provided "that the said Commissioners shall *not* treat of or concerning any alteration of the worship, discipline and government of the Church of this Kingdom, as now by law established." And, for greater security, an Act was in 1706 passed by the Scottish Parliament, wherein after declaring that the "Presbyterian Government shall be the only government of the Church within the Kingdom of Scotland," it is enacted that this act of Parliament, with the Establishment therein contained in it, "shall be held and observed, in all time coming, as a fundamental and essential condition of any treaty or Union to be concluded betwixt the two Kingdoms, without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any sort whatever." Accordingly, when the treaty of Union was signed, the Act of Security was inserted in it; and it was also inserted in the Legislative Enactments of both England and Scotland, whereby that treaty was finally ratified, and the Union completed.

The foregoing short review of the Statutes and Books of Church Government, from the Reformation to the Revolution, seemed a necessary introduction, by way of information, to the legal disputes which have recently occurred. We have avoided interrupting the narrative by any reference to the proceedings of the successive Prelatic Governments of the period, which led to the demand of the Presbyterians for so many recognitions by Parliament of their religious rights and privileges. But these proceedings it is very important to keep in view. For the persevering attempt, from year to year, to force upon the people of Scotland, the doctrines and Government of Prelacy in opposition to their conscientious convictions, the interference with their constitutional Church assemblies, the massacre and banishment of their most zealous ministers, the imposition of tests and oaths which they could not take, the hunting down of their free conventicles, and, in short, the determined and long-continued effort to fetter, control and silence their religious opinions, "awakened a spirit in Scotland mightier far than Acts of Parliament,"\* and which Parliamentary concessions, reiterated as they were, could scarcely satisfy.

What the people wanted throughout was Religious Liberty. It was the *refusal* of this liberty which led, in the sixteenth

\* Dean of Faculty, Hope (now Lord Justice Clerk).

and seventeenth Centuries, to their incessant struggles with the Civil power,—to their Leagues and Covenants,—their Protests and Claims of right,—their discontents and rebellion;—and it was the *recognition* of this liberty, at the Revolution and the Union, that at length satisfied them; and converted them, from apparent disturbers of the public peace, into the quiet and loyal subjects of constitutional government.

Such was the result of the Revolution Settlement and subsequent Treaty of Union upon the people of Scotland.

The Presbyterian Church Government was now fully recognized by and incorporated with the State: and as that government is a very peculiar one indeed, it may be right to pause for a moment in order to explain its leading features. Recognizing no other “head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ,”\* and no authority except what is derived from him, it yet inculcates the duty of the Civil Magistrate to “take order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed—all corruptions and abuses in Worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed.”\* But, at the same time, the Church debars the Civil Magistrate from all interference with its independent spiritual jurisdiction in the admission or excommunication of its members,—the admission, ordination, suspension, and deposition of its ministers,—the extension of its spiritual territory,—and the regulation of its internal affairs.

The Machinery by which these various departments of its governing powers are managed, consists, first, of a *Kirk Session* in every Parish, composed of the Parish Minister, and a Staff of office-bearers or elders selected from the congregation. The province of this Court is to attend to the spiritual affairs of their particular parish and Congregation, and more especially to admit Members or Communicants, as well as to deprive them of their Church privileges. Second, The next Court in gradation is the *Presbytery*. It is composed of the Ministers of Parishes within a particular district, forming the Presbytery bounds, along with one elder from each Parish appointed by its Kirk Session. The Powers of the Presbytery not only enable them to review the proceedings of Kirk Sessions, but also to try and license preachers of the Gospel,—to admit and ordain such preachers to the office of Parish Ministers when duly presented and qualified,—to inflict upon office-bearers

\* Confession of Faith,



sentences of deprivation, suspension, and deposition,—and, finally, to submit overtures or propositions to the General Assembly upon Church affairs. Third, Still higher than the Presbytery is the *Synod*, which is composed of the Ministers of a number of Presbyteries. Its province again is to review the proceedings of the Presbyteries subject to its jurisdiction; and, in common with Presbyteries, to submit overtures to the General Assemblies. Fourth, The Highest Court of all is the *General Assembly*, which is composed of lay and clerical commissioners appointed by the different Presbyteries, and by the Universities and Royal Burghs. Its powers are very extensive. *First*; It sits as a judicial Court of Review upon the proceedings of all Inferior Courts. *Second*; It administers and directs the weightier affairs of the Church connected with the advancement of the cause of education and religion. *Third*; It passes, as a legislative Assembly, enactments for the better government of the spiritual affairs of the Church. And *Fourth*; It has power even to delegate its functions to a Committee or Commission, which is in use to transact such judicial and other business as the Assembly cannot overtake during the short period of its annual sittings. This Commission also takes the oversight of Church affairs during the period that intervenes betwixt one meeting of Assembly and another. In all these matters the General Assembly is supreme, when acting within its spiritual province; and its decisions and enactments require not the authority of civil Courts, or of the Crown, or of Parliament, to give them full force and effect. The Ecclesiastical machinery here described, obviously forms, by its incorporation with the State, a powerful Engine, for evil or for good, according as it happens to be judiciously or injudiciously managed.

But to return now to the period at which we diverged—the Treaty of Union. Seven years after this treaty, an Act was passed by the British Parliament,—well-known as the Act of Queen Anne,—whereby the Heritors and Elders, or rather the people, were deprived of the patronages; and these Patronages were restored to the former Patrons. This act was to take effect on 1st May 1712. By it the former Patrons were authorised to “present a qualified minister or ministers to any church or churches whereof they are Patrons, which shall, after the first day of May, happen to be vacant; and the Presbytery of the respective bounds shall and is hereby obliged to receive and admit such qualified person or persons, minister or ministers, as shall be presented by the respective patrons, in the same manner as the persons or ministers presented before the making of this act ought to have been admitted.”

This Act, though denounced by many as inconsistent with the Treaty of Union,—which in fact it was,—and though opposed at the time and for years afterwards (but not very strongly) by the Church,—has been acted upon both by Church and State for upwards of one hundred years. During that long period there is no doubt that the appointments of Patrons were often most unacceptable to the people; but the Church has itself to blame for many of these obnoxious settlements of Ministers; for, in place of remonstrating with Patrons, or listening to and judging of the people's objections (a power which it was generally supposed the Church possessed), the General Assembly has frequently ordered Presbyteries, at their peril, and against their will, to proceed to a Minister's induction to the benefice in the face of all the people's remonstrances. These forcible intrusions led to two Secessions from the Church, in the middle of the last century, whereby she lost some of her best ministers, who founded the Associate and Relief Dissenters, now forming a large and influential section of the people of Scotland. On the first of these secessions the Church became a little alarmed; and passed an act "against intrusion of Ministers into vacant congregations," wherein they recognised it as, since the Reformation, "the principle of this Church that no minister shall be intruded into any Church contrary to the will of the Congregation." But this concession was too late; and was, at any rate, regarded by the early Seceders, as an insincere declaration—not seriously intended to be acted on. In this opinion these Seceders were right, as subsequent events proved; for the intrusion of unacceptable ministers was immediately repeated. After this period, the Church, for many years, exhibited the spectacle of an Establishment not fulfilling the ends of an Establishment,—not possessing the affections of the people,—not labouring for their moral and religious welfare,—taking little interest in the cause of Education and social Improvement,—denouncing Christian Missions as useless in themselves, and Missionary Societies as dangerous to the peace of society,—and refusing to hold Communion with Ministers of other denominations, or to permit them to preach in the Established Churches.

By a spirit and temper like this—so adverse to the genius of Presbyterianism,—the Church had done much to alienate from it the attachment of its Members, and to increase prodigiously the numbers of Dissenters.

It was not till far on in the present century that a different spirit began to be manifested in the Church; and, wherever it appeared, it awakened a kindred spirit in the Christian people,

and was hailed as a revival of the Presbyterian principles, which had lain almost dormant for a century. We allude not at present to the vexatious questions that came afterwards into dispute, and finally issued in the recent disruption. These we shall soon have to notice. But what we refer to now, as an improvement in the Church, was the growing anxiety of ministers to fulfil the duties of their spheres,—to avail themselves of every field of Christian usefulness that opened up in their Parishes,—and thus to form a real union betwixt themselves and their congregations, founded upon mutual confidence and attachment. It was the silent, persevering, discharge of such ordinary and laborious duties that first attracted public attention, and won for their personal character a respect which had long been given only to their official status.

It was impossible for men, thus busy in their own districts, long to remain satisfied with the general aspect of the Church. The effects of the change were accordingly soon observable in the proceedings of the General Assembly. A *moving party* was formed. The first effort of this party was to abolish pluralities, and to make it incompetent for a Parish Minister to hold that office along with a Professorship in a University. After the subject had been discussed in 1824, 1825, and 1826, in the General Assembly, without success, the contest was decided by a Royal Commission (then reporting upon the Scotch Universities), which adopted the views of the moving party.

The next topic of discussion in the Church, indicative of a change of views, was the subject of Christian Missions. Upon this question it was found that both parties were now at one; and the fruit of this harmony was the establishment, in 1829, of a Mission to India, which, under the able management of Dr. Duff, has been eminently successful in educating and christianizing many of the Hindoos.

Various other measures of the same popular character followed; and every successive Assembly furnished evidence of the growing influence and strength of the moving party. The passing of the Reform Act, and the discussions which preceded it, helped on the impulse; and at length, in 1834, that party, finding itself in the majority, proceeded, then and thereafter, to pass and carry into effect those enactments which proved the immediate cause of the subsequent disputes. We may now, therefore, so as to save repetition, at once connect the Assembly's subsequent proceedings with the legal discussions; and present both together under the heads of the *Auchterarder Case*, the *Strathbogie Case*, and the *Stewarton Case*—being the three leading cases in which the Church's laws and claims were successfully disputed.



*I. Auchterarder Case.*

Before a Minister can be appointed to a Parish or benefice in Scotland, various preliminary forms are necessary. 1st. He receives a presentation from the Patron, which must be sustained by the Presbytery. 2nd. He requires a call, invitation, or concurrence, by the Parishioners, which must also be sustained by the Presbytery. 3rd. His moral and literary qualifications must be tried and approved of by the Presbytery. And, 4th. He must be ordained or set apart by the Presbytery to his office. All these requisites were, prior to 1834, in use to be complied with, except the call of the people, which for many years had been regarded by the Church as a mere form, and had been treated accordingly. The consequence was, that the signature of one, two, or three persons, out of a whole Parish, was often in practice considered by the Church a sufficient call. In 1834 the General Assembly resolved to alter this state of things, and passed an Interim order, which, after being approved of by a majority of Presbyteries, was next year embodied in the following enactment: "Edinburgh, May 29th, 1835. The General Assembly declare that it is a fundamental law of this Church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and, in order that this principle may be carried into full effect, the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the Presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain, that it shall be an instruction to Presbyteries, that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person; and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such persons to be their pastor, the Presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the Church: And further declare that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the Presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interest of himself or the congregation."

These are the words of what is now better known under the name of the VETO ACT. In its interim state it was moved by



Lord Moncrieff, one of the Judges of the Court of Session, it was voted for by the Solicitor-General of the day, then a member of Assembly: it was lauded on the Hustings by Sir John Campbell, (now Lord Campbell,) who, in speaking of it, said, "The abuse of Patronage will now be effectually remedied, and all cause of complaint be removed, both within and without the Church of Scotland. By the glorious struggle," (he added,) "that has been made to restore the Church to its former purity, this triumphant victory has been gained." And Lord Brougham, then on the Woolsack, took occasion to remark in regard to it, "I am glad that the wisdom of the General Assembly has been directed to this subject; and that the result of its deliberations has been those important resolutions," (*viz.* the Interim Act,) "which were passed at the last meeting."

But, notwithstanding such high recommendations, the legality of the Veto Act was disputed, and successfully disputed, in the Courts of Law. The circumstances of the case, in which the question was first raised, are these: The Church and Parish of Auchterarder, in Perthshire, became vacant on 31st August 1834, by the death of the previous incumbent. The Earl of Kinnoull was the Patron. A fortnight after the vacancy, his Lordship presented to the benefice a person of the name of Young. Young immediately laid his Patron's presentation before the Presbytery of the Bounds, and the Presbytery, after sustaining it, appointed a day for "moderating in the call," as it is technically expressed, that is, for receiving the call or invitation of the Parishioners. There were 330 communicating male Heads of Families in the Parish. The call or invitation was signed by the Patron's Factor, and by two of these Heads of Families. On the other hand, 287 Heads of Families expressed their dissent from the appointment of Young,—the remaining 41 Heads of Families remaining neuter. The Presbytery thereupon found that a large majority had "vetoed" Young, and they rejected him accordingly. Young applied for redress to the Higher Church Courts, to the Synod and the General Assembly; but his Appeal was dismissed, and the Presbytery's sentence affirmed.

Young and his Patron then brought the case before the Civil Courts by a suit or action against the Presbytery, and craved the Court of Session to order the Presbytery to disregard the veto of the people, and to admit him to the benefice, if, after trial, he was found qualified in a literary, moral and theological point of view. The Presbytery appeared as Defendants, and disputed the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts to try an Ecclesiastical cause, maintaining, at the same time, that the rejection

of Young was warranted by the veto law of the Church, and that the Church had power to revive or to make that law. After an argument of ten days at the Bar, the Judges of the Court, by a majority of 8 to 5, held that the Presbytery had, in allowing the Parishioners veto or dissent, acted "illegally and in violation of their duty"—and the House of Lords, (Lord Cottenham and Lord Brougham being the Judges,) affirmed this Judgment on appeal.

The Civil Courts thus substantially declared that the call or invitation of the People was a mere nonentity;—that their dislike and disapproval of a Presentee, however unequivocally expressed or numerously concurred in, was to be entirely disregarded;—and that the Church had no power to revive or enact a law, like the veto law, investing the people with a control upon the appointment of the Patron, but were bound and "astricted," by Statute, to intrude a Minister into a Parish, contrary to the will of the congregation, provided that Minister was duly presented, and had the requisite literary and moral qualifications. This was the doctrine of the House of Lords,—a doctrine which, in its absolute terms; even the majority of the Court of Session were scarcely prepared to concur in; for they were inclined to hold that, if the people made and substantiated a *specific* objection against a Presentee,—such as that he was not suited for the Parish,—the Presbytery was entitled to consider, to judge of, and to decide upon, that objection. The House of Lords, however, took a more narrow view of the Church's powers, and indicated an opinion that the Presbytery's functions in the matter were not judicial, but purely ministerial; and were confined to the examination of the Presentee's moral, literary and theological qualifications.

But the Judgment of the House of Lords did not settle the question. The General Assembly resolved to acquiesce in it, in so far as civil matters were concerned,—that is, they agreed that Young should get the stipend of the benefice, but they would not invest him with the spiritual status of Parish Minister, and they adhered to and repeated their former declaration, "that no presentee shall be forced upon any Parish contrary to the will of the congregation." Acting upon the General Assembly's instructions, the Presbytery accordingly still refused to proceed with Young's examination and ordination. Young and his Patron then raised a new suit, in the Court of Session, against the majority of the Presbytery, to have them found liable in £5000 of damages to the Patron, and £8000 of damages to Young, for withholding their legal rights. In answer to this claim the Presbytery urged that no civil court could force them to admit

a person to holy orders: and that their refusal to do so was not a ground of damages. The Court of Session however repelled the Presbytery's Pleas; and their judgment was again affirmed by the House of Lords on appeal—Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Brougham, Lord Cottenham and Lord Campbell being the Judges.

The next proceeding of Young was to ask the sanction of the Court of Session to the *minority* of the Presbytery (for there was always a minority disposed to obey the civil power) proceeding with his ordination, without the aid of the majority. This sanction Young easily obtained. But it is unnecessary to follow his proceedings further, as the disruption intervened, and altered the state of matters entirely. We shall now, therefore, leave the Auchterarder Case, and explain

## II. *The Strathbogie Case.*

The circumstances are these. The Incumbent of the parish of Marnoch, in the Presbytery of Strathbogie, had become so enfeebled by age, that he was unable to perform his ministerial duties; and he appointed a person of the name of Edwards to officiate as his assistant. Edwards acted in that capacity for three years, without conciliating the affections of the people; and his services were then dispensed with by the Incumbent. The Incumbent having however soon after died, the Patrons, who were the Earl of Fife's Trustees, presented Edwards to the benefice. When the call or invitation of the people came to be asked for, 261 heads of families, out of 300, dissented from or vetoed his appointment, and only 5 (including the Patron and three non-resident Heritors) assented to it. It happened, however, that the majority of this Presbytery disapproved of the Veto Act, and were disposed to support the courts of law. This forms the distinguishing feature between the Strathbogie Case and the Auchterarder Case. In Auchterarder the majority of the Presbytery were in favour of the Veto Act and the Church's powers; and therefore carried out the views of the Church Courts. In Strathbogie, on the contrary, the majority of the Presbytery were against the Veto Act and the Church's powers, and were therefore disposed to obey the judgments of the Civil Courts. Accordingly the majority of the Presbytery of Strathbogie, after their hands had been strengthened by Edwards with an order from the Court of Session, desiring them to go on with his examination and ordination, proceeded to take the initiatory steps, in the face of the Veto Law and the General Assembly's instructions. For this act of contumacy the majority was sus-



pended, by the Commission or Committee of Assembly, from the office of the Ministry. But they applied to the Court of Session for, and obtained, an injunction against the sentence being carried into effect. The next meeting of Assembly confirmed their Commissioners' sentence of suspension; upon which the Court of Session granted another injunction. Following up their views, and acting under another Decree of the Court of Session, which they could not resist without being held liable in heavy damages, the majority of the Presbytery resolved to proceed with the settlement of Edwards in the parish; and they ordained him accordingly amidst much uproar and dissatisfaction on the part of the people. For their continued disobedience of the Church Courts, and particularly for their appeals to the Civil Courts, the majority of the Presbytery were then deposed by the General Assembly from the office of the Ministry; and an injunction from the Court of Session was obtained against this sentence also.

The Patrons, in the case of Strathbogie, were no parties to Edwards' proceedings; and, on the supposition that the veto was effectual, they had, at an early stage, appointed another person of the name of Hendry to the benefice. The General Assembly proceeded to get Hendry ordained; and in disregard of contrary orders from the Court of Session, they settled him as the Minister of the Parish, having previously got a new church erected for him by voluntary subscription—in lieu of the old church, which he was forbidden by the Civil Courts to occupy. Of course this settlement of Hendry gave him no right to the temporalities of the benefice. It only conferred upon him the spiritual status of a minister. The temporalities remained the property of Edwards. The cure of souls was thus disconnected from the benefice. In short there was a disestablishment of the Church from the State in that particular Parish; and every person, accustomed to reflect, now saw that the disruption, that has since occurred, could not be far distant. But before coming to it, we have still shortly to notice

### III. *The Stewarton Case,*

In which new and still more important principles came into collision, in reference to which some preliminary explanation seems necessary. The professed design of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, as originally constituted, was to station in every parish or territorial district, a Minister and Kirk Session, who should take the spiritual oversight of the parish. And the object of the State, in associating itself with the Church, was to



secure the services of these officers, by providing for the maintenance of the minister. The Fund from which this State provision was and is obtained, is the Teinds or Tithes forming a burden upon the land in each parish. It was foreseen, however, that from the altered circumstances of parishes, two ministers might come to be necessary for a parish which had previously only one; and, *vice versâ*, one minister might be sufficient for two contiguous parishes. In order to meet the exigencies of such cases, the Court of Session were authorised, at the Union, to act as a Commission for the purpose, amongst other things, of disjoining parishes, or erecting additional parishes where necessary. When the Court of Session exercised the power of creating a new parish, they assigned a stipend to the minister out of the tithes. But the General Assembly had no authority to do this. They always, however, asserted and exercised a right, in cases where the parishes were too large, and where yet an additional stipend could not be got from the Teinds, to create what were called Chapels of Ease, and to ordain ministers to such chapels, who were supported from the seat rents or from other voluntary sources. But the ministers of chapels had, prior to 1834, no status—no Kirk Session—and no seat in the Church Courts. About that time a scheme of Church Extension, on a large scale, was propounded by Dr. Chalmers, and adopted by the Assembly, for the purpose of providing additional church accommodation and pastoral superintendence in destitute localities. To carry out this scheme the people of Scotland subscribed immense sums of money, which enabled the Assembly to build 200 churches, called Extension Churches. The ministers of these churches were paid from the seat rents, there being no other fund for their maintenance, and Parliament having refused a grant for the purpose. In so far as status was concerned, these ministers were at first in the same situation as ministers of Chapels of Ease. But it occurred to the General Assembly that it would materially increase the influence of both Chapel and Extension Ministers, if a separate parochial district were allotted to them—a separate Kirk Session assigned to them—and a seat given them in the Church Courts. The Assembly accordingly passed the requisite acts for attaining these objects.

The same course was, in 1839, adopted by the General Assembly in reference to some dissenting ministers of the Associate Synod, who had last century seceded from the Church, but were now desirous to rejoin it. We particularly mention the case of these dissenting ministers, because it was the admission of one of them, by the Presbytery of Irvine in Ayrshire, to the status, in spiritual matters, of a Parish Clergyman, that

led to the *Stewarton Cause*, and raised the question whether the Church had power thus to erect Parishes *quoad sacra tantum*, and to admit the Ministers of these Parishes to seats in the Church Courts. In discussing this point, the Church, on the one hand, pleaded that, having jurisdiction in all matters ecclesiastical, and being bound and entitled to provide efficiently for the spiritual welfare of the community, they were acting strictly within their powers in what they had done, and were trenching upon no civil rights, so as to warrant the interference of the Civil Courts. On the other hand, it was maintained by the land-owners of the Parish of Stewarton (who, however, could not qualify any real or direct civil injury in the matter), that the Church had no power to separate any part of the original Parish into a new district, or to allow a new Kirk Session to be formed for that district, or to alter the constitution of the Church Courts by adding to the number of their members.

The Court of Session, on 20th of January 1843, by a majority of 8 to 5, adopted the views of the land-owners, and granted a perpetual injunction against the Presbytery of Irvine's proceedings. The effect of this decision, when carried out, would necessarily be to declare the whole proceedings of the General Assembly, for the previous nine or ten years, to be illegal, by reason of *quoad sacra* Ministers, as they were called, having been allowed to sit, vote, and judge as members of these Courts.

The Church did not appeal the Stewarton Case to the House of Lords, being, by this time, tired of a conflict which they now saw would at no distant period end in a disruption.

During the progress of this conflict an immense mass of analogous lawsuits were brought against the Church in the Civil Courts, resulting in injunctions, censures and fines; but, as these were incidental and subsidiary to the three great causes which we have explained, it is unnecessary to notice them in detail. It is enough to observe, as indicative of the confusion into which matters were getting, that the injunctions of the Court of Session were almost uniformly disobeyed, and were often treated with open disregard and contumely.

Nor does it seem necessary to advert particularly to the attempts made in Parliament by Lord Aberdeen, Mr. Colquhoun, and Sir George Sinclair, on the one side, and by the Duke of Argyle and Mr. Campbell of Monzie, on the other side, to settle the disputes. None of these attempts were successful, because Parliament would not consent to the Church's primary claim, that the mere dissent of the people should form a valid bar to the induction of a Minister.

Passing over everything else as comparatively unimportant, we come now to the disruption itself, and the circumstances which attended it. At their sittings in May 1842, the General Assembly framed, for the consideration of Government, a "Claim, Declaration and Protest," on the subject of the Church's collisions with the Civil Courts. No notice having been taken by Government of this Document, the Assembly's Commission, at their Meeting in November of the same year, transmitted a Memorial to Sir Robert Peel, recapitulating their grievances, and intimating "that it must be obvious to Her Majesty's Government, as it is to the Memorialists, that, if redress be not afforded, the inevitable result must be a disruption of the present Established Church of Scotland." An answer was received from Sir James Graham, in January 1843, declining to give the redress asked. This letter was, a week after its receipt, replied to in a Minute of the General Assembly's Commission, marked by great temper, dignity, and talent, in which the alternative is presented, "*Whether* to force on a disruption of the established Church of Scotland, with all its attendant evils; *or* to restore the Church to the state in which she was between 1834 and 1838, when the Veto Act had not been declared illegal,—the power to admit *quoad sacra* ministers had not been challenged,—and the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts, which has since been so largely exercised, had not been claimed." The Government however adhered to their former answer; and, upon an Appeal to Parliament in March 1843, the Church's claims to be restored to the above position were rejected, although supported by a majority of Scotch Members.

This decision of the Legislature was admitted on all hands to be conclusive. In the November previous, at a convocation in Edinburgh of upwards of 400 Ministers, summoned on purpose from all parts of the country, it had been resolved that, should Parliament reject the Church's claims, they would generally resign their benefices. It only remained for the resolutionists now to redeem their Pledge.

And they did redeem it. The General Assembly met in Edinburgh, on the 17th of May last. Professor Welsh, the Moderator, or Preses, of the previous Assembly, delivered (as is usual) an opening discourse, selecting for his subject these very suitable words: "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." The Assembly then met as a Court; but Professor Welsh immediately rose and read a Protest, signed by himself and by those Members (lay and clerical) who concurred with him, recounting the acts of alleged invasion by the Civil Courts on the Church's privileges, protesting that the Established Church was no longer a free church, and withdrawing from it. When



the reading of the Protest was finished, the Moderator and the other Members subscribing it left the Meeting, adjourned to another Hall, and there constituted themselves into a free Assembly, in conjunction with other Ministers and lay office-bearers who adhered to their views. Their deliberations lasted for ten days, and were marked by great zeal and unanimity. They elected Dr. Chalmers as their Moderator. They signed a Deed of Demission renouncing, in legal form, the Establishment and its emoluments. They resolved to carry on all the Educational and Missionary Schemes of the Church, as if nothing had happened. They made arrangements for, in due time, establishing a College, founding a library, creating Churches and Schools, and supporting Ministers and Missionaries. And they agreed to place themselves on a friendly footing with all denominations of Dissenters holding the same doctrines as themselves. With regard to their numbers (now 460), Lord Aberdeen remarked, in the House of Lords, on the 13th June: "I have not yet obtained information as to the precise extent to which the secession has taken place; but I believe that about 240 Parish Ministers have left the Church, being somewhat more than one fourth of the whole number. I think, also, that about 200 unendowed, but ordained ministers, have also seceded, making altogether about 440 or 450, including both parochial and unendowed but ordained Clergymen, forming somewhat more than one third of the whole number in the Church." Along with these Ministers a still larger proportion of unordained Ministers, Students, and lay office-bearers appear to have seceded. And almost the whole of the Jewish and Foreign Missionaries are expected to join them. The number of the people who have seceded, it is more difficult to estimate. In the Cities and large towns a majority will probably be found of the secession party. In Country Parishes the number seceding will not be so great. The best indication, however, of the party's populative strength is the fact, that 700 associations have been formed throughout Scotland to support the Free Church, and that £230,000 is the sum supposed to have been already subscribed to its funds, £70,000 of which is *annual*. It may be added, as still further illustrative of the state of public feeling in and out of Scotland, that Deputations from England, Ireland, and Prussia, attended the Free Church Assembly, to express their admiration of their proceedings; and that the Dissenters of Scotland have readily given the Seceders the use of their Churches till others are built, altering the hours of divine service so as to secure their accommodation.



Notwithstanding all this support and sympathy, however, it may be that the Seceding *Clergy* are open to the posthumous counsel,\* “Be not Schismatics, Be not Martyrs by mistake.” But this cannot be said of the *people*, who constitute the pillars of the secession. They inquired little about the opinions of Beza or of Calvin, and as little about the standards of other Churches. They could not understand the intricacies of multiplied legal discussions. But they did appreciate the seceding party’s attempt to give them, in the appointment of their Minister, a voice or will, unfettered on the one hand by the Patron, and uncontrolled, on the other hand, by the Presbytery. Of course the people expected it to be assumed that their will, when exercised, would be a reasonable not a capricious will—reasonable, however, to their own satisfaction, not to the satisfaction of Church Courts. And they thought it a strange jealousy in the Legislature, after having so recently invested them with such extensive political privileges (for the honest exercise of which they are no way responsible, except to the great bar of public opinion), now to refuse to trust them with any power whatever (direct and irresponsible) in regard to the appointment of their Ministers. These sentiments, on the part of a large section of the people, serve to explain the hearty support which they are giving to the seceding party.

Leaving now that party, let us return to those who remained in the Establishment. Their deliberations occupied about the same time as the Seceders’, and were conducted with almost equal unanimity, though with less zeal. After the seceding party had left, a letter from the Queen was read to those remaining, recommending unity in the Church, and obedience to the law; and promising to “uphold you in the full enjoyment of every privilege which you can justly claim.” The remaining party returned an answer, echoing the letter. In the spirit of this answer they then proceeded, with scarcely any discussion, to set the Church right with the Civil Courts and the Legislature by repealing the Veto Act—restoring the Strathbogie Ministers to their office—and giving effect to the Court of Session’s decision, as to the *quoad sacra* Ministers in the Stewarton Case. These steps at once wiped off the whole litigations. They then petitioned Government for an endowment and status to the *quoad sacra* Churches—and also for such a recognition of the people’s rights, as would allow them (not to veto ministers without reasons, but) to state any objections to a minister founded on just reasons, leaving the Church Courts

\* Sir William Hamilton’s very able but bitter Pamphlet, published after the disruption.

to judge of the reasons and to give effect to them or not, as they saw cause. Having brought these subjects before Government, and pledged themselves to continue the Missionary and Educational Schemes of the Old Church, and to be more zealous than ever they were before in the discharge of their parochial duties, this Assembly separated.

The proceedings of both parties were consistent. The Seceders went out, because they could not acquiesce in the declared law of the land, and could not shape their ecclesiastical enactments and proceedings in unison with it. The other party remained in, because they were prepared to make the laws of the Church harmonise with the judgments of the Civil Courts, trusting to Parliament to remove any stringency in the latter. The acts of both parties are before the public. Their future views and conduct will be narrowly watched, and time will bring out their leading and distinguishing features. Let us hope that they will exercise mutual forbearance; and that the interests of civil and religious liberty will ultimately be promoted by what has taken place. The Seceders should pause before announcing, as a body, that they will not hold communion with those whom they have left. They have not made the announcement yet. It was only a suggestion of one of their influential members. Let it not be adopted. On the other hand, the remnant party should have avoided passing such an act, as they recently passed, cutting off not only their Seceding brethren, but all dissenters, from ministerial communion. Let both parties lay aside these indications of intolerance. They can do no good. They can serve no useful purpose. They may do much harm.

It only remains for us to mention that, since the Assemblies terminated, a bill has been brought into Parliament by Lord Aberdeen, entitled, "An Act to remove doubts respecting the admission of Ministers to Benefices in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland." We do not mean to discuss the provisions of this bill. It is not exciting much attention among the people of Scotland. They are thoroughly tired of the subject. But it has already received the sanction of one-half of the remanent ministers and elders; and will probably be acceptable also to the other half, with the exception of a few who were not prepared for the following legislative repudiation of the Veto Act, with which we may close our remarks upon the Scottish Church Question: "And be it further enacted, that it shall not be lawful for any Presbytery or other Ecclesiastical Court, to reject any presentee upon the ground of any mere dissent or dislike expressed by any part of the Congregation of the Parish to which he is presented."

## THE INQUIRER NEWSPAPER.

IN a notice of the INQUIRER, contained in our last number, we committed some injustice; but as the error was involuntary, and ample redress still in our power, we are not sorry that the necessity of explanation should give the force of a duty to our inclination to return to the subject.

We had heard much complaint, and, from our own observation, we thought not without cause, that in the *early* numbers many Articles, especially of intelligence, had been deprived of much of their interest by misprinting,—and we took occasion to point out the indispensable necessity of a careful correction of the press. The fact was, that at the time we were writing, the necessity for our remark had ceased to exist. Our impression belonged to a state of things that had been altogether changed and amended,—and the later numbers of the Paper had been, and continue to be, printed with equal accuracy and beauty of execution. Some one has remarked, that settlers in the American forests become so lastingly inoculated with the idea of the necessity of cutting down timber,—that when the state of things totally changes, and trees, far and wide, have disappeared so fast that enough are not left for shade, ventilation, and moisture, still the impression that timber is a foe to be conquered remains so strong, that the axe continues to be unmercifully plied long after the face of circumstances has undergone a total alteration. Under some such continuity of impression, in the face of new facts, we committed the error which we now confess,—and it would sincerely grieve us to learn that it had inflicted either pain or injury.

Since our last number, the existence of the INQUIRER Newspaper was endangered from the want of a sufficient number of Subscribers, for their own benefit, of sixpence a week, in all England, Ireland, and Scotland; and the Editor, with remarkable directness and frankness, stated the facts to his Public, and avowed that the next number should be its last, if those whom it aimed to represent were willing to see it die. In patronage, as in charity, a condition of extreme want will call into activity aid and sympathy which, the desire and forethought to prevent your ever approaching that condition of extreme want, has not been able to create. If you are starving and dying, men will rush to you with food and cordials, who never had a thought that it might be well to anticipate altogether the pains of starvation. We trust that the INQUIRER will not be discouraged by the circumstance of its requiring, at the outset, irregular and precarious support, but persevere in its laborious efforts to deserve success, in strong confidence that true merit, kept sufficiently long before the public, will at last command it. We repeat our humble testimony to its faithfulness and ability; to its Catholic spirit and unsectarian zeal for Truth; to the closeness and quickness of its watch over the interests of religious liberty; and to its industry and painstaking. We shall be disappointed if a paper possessing these qualities shall long require any less satisfactory support than the natural returns arising from its own reputation and deserts. Meanwhile an effort must be made, by those who expect good service from it, to give it an *opportunity* of forming, and making known, this character and reputation. We attach no public weight to our recommendation, but if this News-



paper is permitted to perish, we should be sorry to be visited by the remembrance that it had wanted our helping word, when we could honestly have spoken it.

We hope that this Newspaper will contribute to raise the character of our Periodicals. It will do, much better than they can, a kind of work that is entirely unsuitable to the higher class of periodical literature, and thus leave them free for severer labours. Denominational intelligence, speeches at public meetings, and a thousand matters of ephemeral interest, find their proper place in a Newspaper, but are sad drawbacks upon the permanent value of Reviews and Magazines. Intelligence, in a Newspaper, is given exactly as it arises, and when it is most useful; in Periodicals it is often old news, and occupies the space of more important matter. A higher ambition, too, may open before our larger Periodicals, when this means of exciting a passing interest is taken away by a weekly Newspaper, that has already fully supplied the information. For example, when this Journal sees the light on the first of July, and on this occasion a monthly Journal would be similarly situated, an ample report of all the proceedings of the Unitarian Association, with such interest as it may possess, will already have been, for more than three weeks, in the hands of all who have any concern in the matter. The superior manner in which a weekly Paper can perform the offices of a Journal, and in this respect the *INQUIRER* leaves nothing to be desired, must, even by force, elevate the larger Periodicals to the higher functions of the Review and Magazine. This alone may exert a most beneficial influence on the character of our religious Literature.

The proper support for such a paper as the *INQUIRER* is the healthy and natural one of an extensive circulation; and we trust that, shortly, its best friends and well wishers will have no more exertion to make in its behalf, than such a good word, freely and honestly spoken in quarters where it is not yet known, as may obtain for it a trial. We are satisfied that its Editor would desire nothing more than a full and fair opportunity of introducing it to a healthy and unartificial circulation; and that the only nursing it will require is such temporary support as will enable it to present itself, for a time, before those whom it hopes permanently to interest. We do not know that more efficient Unitarian Tracts than this Paper could be circulated through districts in which it is desired to excite or foster a spirit of intelligent inquiry, or where Missionaries have been employed. The constant application of religious views, and of the spirit of a truly Christian theology, to living interests and events, is of the greatest effect in assisting and satisfying minds just beginning to inquire.

We must not close without recording our sense of the spirit of enterprise and self-sacrifice, on the part of the Editor and Proprietor, by which the Paper has so far been maintained in existence. If he can persevere, which we doubt not, without the stimulus of reward, in the same patient labour, and with the same high standard of attainment,—and, more difficult still, unspoiled by success when it comes, continue the severe application which obtained it, we indulge in the belief that the highest purposes he contemplated, will have, as they deserve, their complete accomplishment.



THE  
CHRISTIAN TEACHER.

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ART. I.—ESSAYS, CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL. By  
T. B. MACAULAY. 3 Vols. 8vo. Longman: London.

THERE is no debt of gratitude so readily acknowledged, or under which the debtor sits so easily, as that which we owe to the popular periodical Essayist. Works to which the energies of a life have been devoted, struggle into a tardy fame long after the ear into which we would fain pour the tribute of our gratitude is become cold and dull; but the author of “the Article” receives prompt payment each quarter day, and sheltered by his panoply of gold and purple hears the murmur of his fame in every company he enters. In this class of writers Mr. Macaulay stands proudly preeminent; nor is this his only claim upon our gratitude. As an orator, he fills a place in the highest rank, and we know of no poem of modern days, which, in such narrow compass, calls forth stronger and more varied passions, or awakens tenderer emotions, than “Virginia.” We have perused it frequently: each time with increased delight, and never without being more moved than it would become a critic to confess. Mr. Macaulay reached his present eminence at a single bound: his article on Milton, published in 1825, is worthy to hold its place by the side of those on Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, which appeared fifteen years later, and which, perhaps, contain more of the daring handling, the power of throwing the scenes and characters which he depicts into bold relief, which is the chief characteristic of Mr. Macaulay’s writings, than any of the other articles comprised in these volumes, which bring together all the scattered items of an

account, resulting in a total far exceeding in amount that which we owe to any other living Essayist. This debt we are happy to acknowledge, is increasing with every number of the *Edinburgh Review*, for we do not conceive that we are trenching on the privilege of anonymous writing by pointing at Mr. Macaulay as the author of the article on Miss Aikin's Life of Addison in the July number of that publication. "We did know the sweet Roman hand," and believe that there is no other pen from which it could have proceeded. In place of two dull octavos, he has given us in about seventy pages, a life of one of the most delightful writers in our language, whose character has hardly received justice from posterity, and to whom we admit that we did not look with sufficient gratitude and reverence, until after reading the article we refer to. But in doing justice, and we do not think he has done more than justice, to Addison, Mr. Macaulay's has, we think, done injustice to some of his contemporaries, and particularly to the greatest of them—Pope. Addison had attained high and deserved fame when Pope, young and unknown, was introduced to him by Steele, who never lost an opportunity of doing a kind act: he patronized him and gave valuable and deserved commendations to his earlier works, and Pope expressed, and there is no reason to suppose that he did not feel, warm gratitude and admiration. We are not inclined to agree with the assertion that "Addison had from the first seen that Pope was false and malevolent." We do not suspect Addison of having been guilty of giving his patronage, and still less his friendship, to one of whom he thought so meanly; and did our opinion coincide with Mr. Macaulay's, we would more willingly admit that Addison wanted penetration than that he was guilty of the hypocrisy which such an assertion implies. Nor were the benefits all on one side. The epistle to Addison on his work on Medals, is read by thousands who never saw the work which called it forth; and the prologue to Cato is at least as worthy of admiration as anything in the tragedy itself. Dennis attacked Cato, and Pope, who started forward to the defence of his friend with youthful ardour, and, perhaps, injudicious warmth, wrote the narrative of the frenzy of John Dennis, which offended the more mature and chastened taste of Addison, who, not content to leave his reputation to take care of itself, disavowed any connection with this *jeu d'esprit* in terms by no means honourable to Pope. The letter, in which this communication was made, Dennis immediately published, and such was the beginning of the estrangement between Pope and Addison. That Pope, acutely sensitive, conscious of great, and as yet unacknowledged

powers, was deeply mortified by this blow, proceeding from the literary dictator of the day,—from a man to whom he looked with the warmest admiration, and in whose defence his error had been committed, cannot be doubted; and it must also be admitted that he in consequence viewed other parts of Addison's conduct towards him through a distorted medium: he suspected the advice he had received from him with respect to the proposed re-casting of the *Rape of the Lock* to have proceeded from jealousy,\* and he lent too ready an ear to the story, which, however, there was much to support, that Addison was the author of the translation of the first Book of the *Iliad* which came out under the name of Tickell. Whether this story were true or false, there can be no doubt that though Addison commended Pope's translation in public, the clique at Button's, over which he reigned supreme, used all their efforts to depreciate Pope and to cry up Tickell. They failed; and Pope's remains the only readable translation of Homer that we have. As to the question of its critical accuracy, no one would be disposed to enter the lists to dispute the correctness of Mr. Macaulay's judgment. There may still, however, be a doubt whether Homer could have been more efficiently introduced to the popular reader.

The contemporaries and friends of Pope may be suspected of partiality; by them it was received with the warmest admiration. Swift gave it an approving growl; Johnson, who cannot be suspected of being biassed in favour of Pope, calls it "the noblest version of poetry which the world had ever seen." Mr. Roscoe says, that "in opening to his countrymen the poetical stores of the great Grecian bard, he has given them a boon which no other hand could have conferred." Lord Byron spoke and wrote of it with enthusiasm. Mr. Macaulay can find no other illustration of its excellence than the translation of Bottom to an ass in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, a comparison not very honourable either to Homer or to Pope; amongst such critics we shall not attempt to decide.

Even yet the breach might have been repaired. Steele and Gay, two of the kindest-hearted men that ever lived, saw with regret the estrangement between friends whom they regarded with equal shares of love and veneration. They arranged a meeting. Pope and Addison approached each other with cold

\* It should not be forgotten in considering this part of the character of Pope, that in deference to the judgment of Atterbury, he destroyed two epic poems, the production of which must certainly have cost him much labour; yet he never suspected Atterbury, the purity of whose friendship he knew, of any sinister motive for the advice he gave him.

civility. The reserve of Addison gradually gave way before wine and conversation, and "at a moment the generous Steele deemed auspicious, he requested Addison would perform his promise in renewing his friendship with Pope."\* Pope appears to have received the proposition with as much cordiality as a man who conceived himself to be so greatly injured could be reasonably expected to do; but Addison was overcome with anger, and "in a low hollow voice of feigned temper," made a formal speech, reproaching Pope for vanity far exceeding his merit, reminded him of the corrections for which he had been indebted to himself and Steele, characterized his *Homer* as "an ill executed thing," and said that Tickell's had all the spirit. He concluded with a declaration that he had ceased to be solicitous about his own poetical reputation, but from friendship for Pope, desired him to be more humble if he wished to appear a better man to the world.

Such was the language which the author of *The Campaign* considered himself entitled to use to the author of the *Rape of the Lock*. Gay would fain have interposed to arrest the storm which he saw was rising, but Pope's blood was up, he was to be restrained no longer; he indignantly appealed from the insolently condescending judgment which had been pronounced, upbraided Addison as a pensioner, and accused him of using his literary power "to cuff down new fledged merit." This story Miss Aikin thinks fit to reject,† why does not appear, except that it is not very creditable to Addison. It first appeared in Ayre's life of Pope, published immediately after his death. Miss Aikin insinuates that there was no such person as Ayre, and that the life was a forgery of Curll. This is the revival of an exploded story contained in an anonymous pamphlet of the day, entitled "*Remarks on Squire Ayre's Memoirs of Pope.*" Ayre was undoubtedly a real person: he is mentioned by Gay as one of the friends of Pope, and Mr. D'Israeli speaks of him as an obscure author, who had translated Tasso's *Ariosto*: he was, as Mr. D'Israeli remarks, "certainly incompetent to the invention of a single stroke of the conversation which he details." The story with very slight variations, is adopted by Johnson, who does not refer to any authority: it is repeated with greater accuracy by Mr. D'Israeli, (who appears to have at first received it with sufficient suspicion to induce him to sift its correctness), and lastly by Mr. Roscoe, whose authority on a matter of literary history is entitled to the highest respect. It does not, we admit, necessarily follow, that the story is true, but if we reject it, what

\* D'Israeli's *Quarrels of Authors*, vol. i. p. 256.

† Vol. ii. p. 124. n.



are we to admit? That Miss Aikin is not very scrupulous in rejecting stories which happen to be derogatory to the character of Addison, is shown by her disbelief of the story of Addison's arrest of Steele, with regard to which Mr. Macaulay admits that "few Private transactions which took place a hundred and twenty years ago, are supported by stronger evidence," and proceeds to excuse it, by painting a vivid picture, not of what *was*, but of what possibly *may have been* the provocation. We do not quarrel with this: our sympathies are called so actively into play by the engaging qualities of the thoughtless and the prodigal, of Steele and of Goldsmith, that we should be apt, did not such writers as Mr. Macaulay call us back to juster thoughts, to forget what is due to the severer and more dignified virtue, the real kindness and benevolence of Addison and of Johnson.

It was some short time after this occurrence, the precise date of which cannot be fixed, that Gildon's life of Wycherley appeared. This pamphlet which was printed by Curll, contained much gross abuse of Pope and his relations, which was repeated in the *New Rehearsal*, and the *Complete Art of English Poetry* by the same author. Pope was told by Lord Warwick, that the first of these pamphlets was countenanced by Addison, who rewarded the author with a donation of ten pounds. Mr. Macaulay candidly admits that it can never now be known whether Addison was provoked to retaliate in this manner or not, but he says that "when we consider that to the name of honest man, neither Pope nor the Earl of Warwick had a claim, we are not disposed to attach much importance to this anecdote." We do not know upon what this charge of dishonesty against the Earl of Warwick rests. All that we know of him is, that he was a youth of dissolute habits, who fell a victim, like thousands more, to the effect produced by his course of life on a naturally weak constitution; but it does not follow that he was either dishonest, false or malicious. Gay calls him a man of free and generous mind, and it must be remembered, in weighing the evidence with regard to this story, (for we are not now enquiring whether Addison was guilty of this baseness, of which we are disposed to acquit him, but whether Pope had any evidence but what he found "in his own bad heart," on which to ground his belief,) that Budgell, the "gambler, lampooner, cheat, forger," one of Addison's relatives and "favourite companions," for whom he secured a "lucrative place," whom he afterwards made his under-secretary, and over whom he exercised absolute controul, some time after, and subsequently to the death of Addison, undoubtedly employed his pen in scurrilous attacks upon

the reputation of Pope. That Pope firmly believed that "Gildon's venal quill" had been hired by Addison, there can be no doubt, and considering the position in which Lord Warwick stood, the utter absence of any motive for the fabrication of such a story, and Addison's previous conduct, we think he had grounds on which a candid, honest, and even generous mind might well entertain such a belief.

It was upon this discovery, that Pope wrote, and immediately transmitted to Addison, (though he did not publish it till some time after,) the character of Atticus, and all hope of reconciliation was from this time forward, of course at an end.

Addison however treated Pope with civility and justice; he mentioned his translation of the *Iliad* in the 40th number of the *Freeholder*, in connection with Dryden's *Virgil* and Rowe's *Pharsalia*, the commendation of the latter of which appears to have been his principal object. Mr. Macaulay attributes this to magnanimity: there are other motives which are quite as obvious, but we have no wish to detract one tittle from Addison's high and deserved reputation; if it were so, he enjoyed the satisfaction of a noble revenge.\* He had, Mr. Macaulay remarks, "other means of vengeance, which a bad man would not have scrupled to use. He was powerful in the State. Pope was a Catholic, and in those times a minister would have found it easy to harass the most innocent Catholic, by innumerable petty vexations." Bad indeed must he have been could he have ever contemplated the use of such means! A revengeful Dunce, or a fanatical Bigot might be pardoned; but if Addison had availed himself of such means to glut his vengeance, his name would have been branded to eternity, as an object of scorn and execration, and we should have had to dive into that cloaca of infamy, the memoirs of Mr. Thomas Reynolds, to find a parallel instance of baseness. The bare suggestion seems to us to be an insult to the pure memory of Addison. The

\* Whatever credit is due to Addison on this score, it should not in justice be forgotten that at least equal generosity was practised by Pope. In his imitations of Horace, 1st Ep., 2nd book, are the following lines:—

"And in our own (excuse some courtly strains),  
No whiter page than Addison's remains;  
He from the taste obscure, reclaims our youth,  
And sets the passions on the side of truth,  
Forms the soft bosom with the gentlest art,  
And pours each human virtue in the heart."

And in the preface to the *Miscellanies* of Pope and Swift, which was written by Pope, he says:—"In regard to two persons only, we wish our raillery, though ever so tender, or resentment though ever so just, had not been indulged. We speak of Sir John Vanburgh, who was a man of wit and of honour, and of Mr. Addison, whose name deserves all respect from every lover of learning."

power however was no imaginary one; it is melancholy to think that a century has not yet elapsed, since he, to whom we now look as the brightest ornament of his age, could not safely approach within ten miles of London, but proposed to "slide along the Surrey side" of the Thames to Battersea Bridge, to meet his friend Allen, lest he should be discovered by a Middlesex Justice.

Having thus sketched the history of the connection of Pope with Addison, and the severance of that connection, we shall proceed to quote Mr. Macaulay's remarks thereupon:—

"We do not accuse Pope of bringing an accusation which he knew to be false. We have not the smallest doubt that he believed it to be true; and the evidence on which he believed it he found in his own bad heart. His own life was one long series of tricks, as mean and as malicious as that of which he suspected Addison and Tickell. He was all stiletto and mask. To injure, to insult, and to save himself from the consequences of injury and insult, by lying and equivocating, was the habit of his life. He published a lampoon on the Duke of Chandos; he was taxed with it; and he lied and equivocated. He published a lampoon on Aaron Hill; he was taxed with it, and he lied and equivocated. He published a still fouler lampoon on Lady Mary Wortley Montague; he was taxed with it, and he lied with more than usual effrontery and vehemence. He puffed himself and abused his enemies under feigned names. He robbed himself of his own letters, and then raised the hue and cry after them. Besides his frauds of malignity, of fear, of interest, and of vanity, there were frauds which he seems to have committed from love of fraud alone. He had a habit of stratagem—a pleasure in outwitting all who came near him. Whatever his object might be, the indirect road to it was that which he preferred. For Bolingbroke, Pope undoubtedly felt as much love and veneration as it was in his nature to feel for any human being. Yet Pope was scarcely dead, when it was discovered that, from no motive except the mere love of artifice, he had been guilty of an act of gross perfidy to Bolingbroke."

We will take these accusations seriatim: and first, as to the alleged lampoon on the Duke of Chandos. The passage alluded to is contained in the Epistle on the Use of Riches, and commences with the line, "At Timon's Villa let us pass a day." Timon's Villa has been said to refer to Canons, the seat of the Duke of Chandos, and Pope has been accused of taking it as his model for the description of a residence in which ostentatious prodigality was combined with false taste, costly entertainments with discomfort, and lavish expenditure in the collection of books, with profound ignorance of their contents. It has also been said that the offence was aggravated by the fact that Pope lay under pecuniary obligations to the Duke, and that his

malice was therefore accompanied by ingratitude. Of this, the blacker part of the charge, there is not one tittle of evidence : Pope was under no further obligation to the Duke than what might be supposed to arise from the fact of his being one of the subscribers to the translation of Homer. All intention to satirize the Duke was explicitly disavowed, over and over again, to Lord Burlington, to Aaron Hill, and to the supposed object of the satire himself, who seems to have been perfectly satisfied with the explanation of the passage that was offered, and said that "he took the application that had been made of it as a sign of the malice of the town against himself." Johnson, who unwillingly admits that there is nothing to support the assertion that Pope was under pecuniary obligation, details the rest of the story, stating, what is utterly incorrect, that Pope "never had confidence openly to deny it." The real truth undoubtedly was, that the satire was general : "A Hundred smart in Timon and in Balaam ;" and the malice of some one of those "who saw at Canons what was never there," (probably Welstead,) pointed the Duke out as the prototype of Timon.

Secondly, as to the alleged lampoon on Aaron Hill. This is contained in the following passage of the second book of the *Dunciad*, where the Poet describes the diving contest at the mouth of Fleet ditch :—

"Then \* \* \* essayed, scarce vanished out of sight,  
He buoys up instant and returns to light,  
He bears no tokens of the sabler stains,  
And mounts far off amid the swans of Thames."

It seems difficult to construe the passage into a lampoon at all : it is rather, as it was called in the note upon it, a panegyric, and it is, to say the least, doubtful who was the person aimed at. Hill, however, who seems to have been a man of considerable ability, and more vanity, and who also appears to have felt some soreness from the use of the initials A. H. amongst a number of fictitious references in *Martinus Scribblers*, took it to himself, satirized the satirist in very tolerable verses, and wrote a peevish and querulous letter, to which Pope replied with dignity and temper, explaining the mistake into which Hill had fallen, soothing his wounded pride, and gently reproving him for the virulence of his attack. To this Hill alludes, in his "Advice to Poets," printed in the same year, 1731, when he exhorts Pope to treat the scribblers who attacked him, with scorn, and admits the *mistake* into which he had himself fallen. Is Mr. Macaulay not aware of the existence of these noble lines ?



" I feel her now—Th' Invader fires my breast,  
And my soul swells to suit the Heavenly guest ;  
Hear him oh Pope !—She sounds th' inspired decree,  
Thou great Archangel of Heaven's wit—for thee.

" Let vulgar genii soured by sharp disdain,  
Piqued and malignant words' low war maintain,  
While every meaner art exerts her aim  
O'er rival arts to lift her questioned fame.  
Let half-souled Poets still on Poets fall,  
And teach the willing world to scorn them all.

" But let no Muse pre-eminent as thine,  
Of voice melodious and of power divine,  
Stung by wit's wasps, all rights of rank forego,  
And turn and snarl and bite at very foe.  
No—like thine own Ulysses make no stay,  
Shun monsters, and pursue thy streamy way.

" Winged by the Muses' God to rise sublime,  
What has thy fame to fear from peevish rhyme ?  
Shalt *Thou*—decreed till times own death to live,  
Yet want the noblest courage to forgive ?

" — Should e'en hot rashness erring jav'lines throw,  
And strike one friendly breast, supposed a foe,  
*How nobler still to undeceive than blame !*  
*And chasten insult with the blush of shame.*  
Never, ah never, shall that worth be found  
Which neither malice nor *mistake* can wound ?"

The storm blew over, and Pope and Hill, who seem to have had a sincere regard and respect for each other, corresponded in terms of friendship and confidence for the next ten years.

We now come to the "still fouler lampoon on Lady Mary Wortley Montague." The lines alluded to are in the imitation of the 1st Satire of the 2nd book of Horace. The real wonder here is, how people in their senses can ever have conceived these lines to apply to any but a woman of the vilest and most abandoned habits, and it is even more marvellous how Lady Mary could for one moment countenance the supposition that they were pointed at her: she however certainly did so, and joining with Lord Harvey, published some angry, and not very creditable lines, in which Pope's personal deformities were ridiculed, and he was threatened with a horsewhipping. To these verses Pope made no reply, but alludes to them in a contemptuous, but almost playful way in a letter to Swift; and in his celebrated letter to Lord Harvey, he accounts for his silence by saying, "they regarded nothing but his figure, which he set no value upon,

and his morals, which he knew needed no defence." Having failed to rouse Pope by the first attack, Lord Harvey published his "Epistle to a Dr. of Divinity." To this Pope immediately replied in "A Letter to a Noble Lord," above alluded to. In this letter, which will always continue to be read, for the wit which sparkles in every line, the delicate irony and the biting sarcasm which it contains, there is the following passage:—"In regard to the Right Honourable Lady, your Lordship's friend, I was far from designing a person of her condition, by a name so degrading to her as that of Sappho, a name prostituted to every infamous creature that ever wrote verse or novels. I protest I never applied that name to her in any verse of mine, public or private, and I firmly believe not in any letter or conversation. Whoever could invent a falsehood to support an accusation I pity, and whoever can believe such a character to be theirs, I pity still more."

Lord Peterborough was unwillingly pressed into the service of Lady Mary as her knight errant, to demand an explanation from Pope: the explanation was given, and was perfectly satisfactory to Lord Peterborough, who wrote to Lady Mary, saying that he hoped the assurance he had received from Pope, "would prevent her further mistake, and any consequences upon so odd a subject!" Odd indeed! Yet Lady Mary persisted in taking the passage to herself with a pertinacity which is utterly unintelligible, and the slander has been repeated in various forms to the present time.

The charge of having "robbed himself of his own letters, and then raised the hue and cry after them," would not, even if it were true, inflict any very deep wound on the reputation of an author in this age of anonymous writing. We all recollect how long the distinction between the author of *Waverley* and Sir Walter Scott was kept up, after all real concealment of the authorship had ceased. The crime consists not in the fact but in the denial of it, and had the fact been true, there was no motive for the denial: the story is told by Johnson, who, upon very slight grounds, inclines to give credence to it. The whole of the evidence has since been collected and investigated by Mr. Roscoe in the appendix to his admirable life of Pope prefixed to his edition of his works, where any of our readers who have patience enough may satisfy their curiosity. The conclusion to which he comes, and at which we think any candid mind would arrive after the perusal of that evidence, is that the copy from which Curll printed his surreptitious edition of the letters was really obtained by fraud from the manuscript in Lord Oxford's Library.

We have only one more tangible charge to dispose of, and that is the "act of gross perfidy" which he is said "from the mere love of artifice" to have been guilty of towards Lord Bolingbroke. This is the most difficult to deal with of any of the charges against the memory of Pope, and for a very simple reason. He was dead before it was brought. The only tongue that could have explained the mystery was silent. The wonderful spirit was gone to explore deeper mysteries. Bolingbroke wept over him, exclaiming, "I never in my life knew a man that had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or more general friendship for the world." "I have known Pope," he said on another occasion, "for these twenty years, and value myself more on his friendship than——" His utterance was choked with tears. Yet it was Bolingbroke who brought this posthumous charge to blacken the memory of his friend. The story is shortly this : Bolingbroke had put the Patriot King into the hands of Pope, in order that a number of copies might be struck off for private distribution. This was done ; but after Pope's death the printer produced, and delivered to Lord Bolingbroke, a much greater number of copies, it is said as many as 1,500, which he stated to have been struck off by Pope's desire. If this really were the case (which still remains doubtful), it is certain both that Pope never made an unauthorised use of any one of those copies, and that no sinister motive can by any ingenuity be suggested for the act. It may have originated in a mistake of Pope or of the printer,—it may have been occasioned by a desire to save trouble and expense to Bolingbroke when he should publish the work,—it may have proceeded from a wish for the preservation of the book ; but it cannot have proceeded from any mean or selfish motive. But Bolingbroke entertained a jealousy of Warburton, and the confidence which Pope had reposed in the latter, by making him the legatee of his works, made him eager to seize upon this means of wreaking his vengeance, and he employed Mallett as his instrument for that purpose.

We have now gone through the whole list of definite charges brought by Mr. Macaulay against Pope, and we would ask, what is there of "the stiletto and the mask" in all this ? What evidence is there of a "bad heart ?" What is there that is "mean or malicious ?" Where is the "lying and the equivocating ?" What is become of the "frauds of malignity, fear, interest, and vanity ?" the "love of fraud," the "habit of stratagem ?"

Whilst we are about it, we really must collect a few more of these expressions of Mr. Macaulay, as curiosities, if not gems,—

“Pope’s malignity;”—“To the name of honest men, neither Pope nor Lord Warwick had a claim;”—“A distorted and diseased body, tenanted by a yet more distorted and diseased mind;”—“A feeble sickly licentiousness;”—“An odious love of filthy and noisome images;”—“Diminutive crooked boy;”—“The malignant Pope,” &c., &c. Here is a “nice derangement of epitaphs!” To find any parallel for them, we must go back to the days of Dennis, Curll and Gildon, and search for precedents in the notes of the *Dunciad*.

Taunts upon personal deformity might be forgiven to those who were smarting under the immediate infliction of the lash of Pope’s satire, and who had no weapon but abuse to defend themselves with; but it is curious to see such taunts repeated a century afterwards, by one whose genius entitles him to a place in the same illustrious circle with the man whom he defames.

Let us now turn to the more pleasing task of examining what Pope really was, as drawn by those who knew and loved him; for to know and to love Pope was one and the same thing.

The delicate boy with a fragile constitution, and a voice so sweet that it acquired for him, even in childhood, the name of “the little Nightingale,” to which his subsequent fame gave so much nobler an import, must have been peculiarly the object of his mother’s tenderness, and nobly was that tenderness requited by Pope. Many attempts were made to wound him through his filial affections, by traducing his parents. It is in reference to these attacks that he simply and beautifully says in his letter to Lord Harvey, before referred to,—“I think it enough that my parents, such as they were, never cost me a blush, and that their son, such as he is, never cost them a tear.” The character of his father is beautifully drawn at the conclusion of the Prologue to the Satires, but it was to his mother that Pope seems to have clung with the fondest affection. She lived to extreme old age, and when in the very zenith of his fame, the whole world was paying homage to his genius, he thought no time so well or so happily bestowed as that which he gave to

“Make languor smile and smooth the bed of death,  
Explore the thought, explain the asking eye,  
And keep a-while one parent from the sky.”

That Pope guarded the flickering taper of life with the fondest affection, we have ample testimony. Perhaps one of the most touching compositions in the language, is the letter which he



wrote to Martha Blount after the death of Gay, and in anticipation of that of his mother. There is a letter to Swift, written at the same period, which the Dean, who loved Gay tenderly, dare not open for five days after he received it, anticipating and dreading its contents.

The event so long feared, so long procrastinated, at length took place on the 7th June 1733, and though his mother had attained the extraordinary age of 93, the affectionate heart of Pope staggered under the blow. He longed to write to Swift, but could not: his heart was too full. He could not pass near her room without uneasiness. He wrote, however, to Richardson, the painter, as follows:—

“ I thank God her death was as easy as her life was innocent ; and, as it cost her not a groan, nor even a sigh, there is yet upon her countenance an expression of tranquillity, nay, almost of pleasure, that it is even amiable to behold it ; it would afford the finest image of a saint expired that ever painting drew, and it would be the greatest obligation which even that obliging art could ever bestow if you would come and sketch it for me. I shall hope to see you this evening as late as you will, or to-morrow morning as early, before this winter flower is faded. I know you love me, or I could not have written this,—I could not at this time have written at all.—Adieu. May you die as happily.”

The sketch made in consequence of this request was formerly in the collection at Strawberry Hill, where we saw it : it bears a silent testimony that it was the portrait of one, the “ cradle of whose reposing age” had been rocked by the tenderest of sons. Well might Johnson, surprised for a moment into genuine admiration, exclaim, “ Life has, amongst its soothing and quiet comforts, few things better to give than such a son.”

It would have been strange indeed if such a son, so constant in the exercise of the first virtue that a pure heart acquires, had been a bad man in other respects: accordingly we find no such inconsistency. Warburton said of him,—“ To have been the first of poets, is but his second praise. He was in a higher class ; he was one of the noblest works of God ; he was an honest man ; a man who alone possessed more real virtue than, in very corrupt times, needing a satirist like him, will sometimes fall to the share of multitudes.” He afterwards speaks of “ his filial piety, his disinterested friendship, his reverence for the constitution of his country, his love and admiration for virtue, and (what was the necessary effect) his hatred and contempt of vice ; his extensive charity to the indigent, his warm benevolence to mankind, and, above all, his sincere belief in Revelation.” Such was the testimony of Warburton, the Protestant

Bishop, to the virtues of Pope, the Catholic poet. The testimony of Bolingbroke, before his mind was poisoned, we have before alluded to.

Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot, Steele, Atterbury, Garth, regarded him with undiminished respect and affection, until, one by one, death, disease and banishment robbed him of them. Political and religious differences seem to have been all merged in their love for the man, and their admiration of the Poet; and though these men constituted no little Senate attentive to his nod, (for Pope measured too well what was due to himself and others ever to be attended by a train of fawning parasites) but asserted a noble equality with him in genius and learning, no jealousy seems ever to have tainted the purity of their friendship. If it be said, they were friends, and consequently partial, we answer, the partiality of such friends is the highest of all testimony.

From the early age at which the genius of Pope developed itself, these friends were almost all men considerably older than himself. One of the best and dearest of them, Arbuthnot, at a period when his age, and the disease under which he was labouring, rendered recovery impossible, and when, as he himself expressed it, "the kindest wish of his friends was euthanasia," wrote to him in the following words:—

"As for you, my good friend, I think since our first acquaintance there has not been any of those little suspicions or jealousies that often affect the sincerest friendships; I am sure not on my side. I must be so sincere as to own, that though I could not help valuing you for those talents which the world prizes, yet they were not the foundation of my friendships: they were quite of another sort, nor shall I at present offend you by enumerating them; and I make it my last request that you will continue that noble disdain and abhorrence of vice, which you seem naturally endued with—but still with a due regard to your own safety; and study more to reform than chastise, though the one cannot be effected without the other."

To this letter Pope replied, that "to attack vices in the abstract, without touching persons, may be safe fighting indeed, but it is fighting with shadows." \* \* \* \* "I will consult my safety so far as I think becomes a prudent man, but not so far as to omit anything which I think becomes an honest one."

The peril to which Pope was exposed must have been strangely underrated by Mr. Macaulay, when he accused him of cowardice. The days were hardly gone when persons in the rank of gentlemen did not consider themselves disgraced by

lying in wait, in dark corners, to slit the noses or cut off the ears of the enemies, whom their want of capacity deprived them of any other means of answering. The amusements of the Mohawks were still fashionable. Personal violence was threatened even by a man holding so high a rank as Lord Harvey. The only precaution Pope seems to have taken was occasionally to carry pocket pistols, a thing not unusual at that time even with those who had no cause for apprehending violence. He was also accompanied in his walks by a large faithful dog, to whom he was much attached.

With Swift, Pope tried the dangerous experiment of living for a considerable time under the same roof, and when Swift quitted Twickenham, never to return, he seems not to have had sufficient nerve for a personal farewell, but left a letter at Gay's lodgings, over which Pope "wept like a girl." The deaths of Gay and Arbuthnot drew the two friends still closer together. Pope would fain have induced Swift to pass the remainder of his days with him. They never met again, but until the dark cloud which descended on the great intellect of Swift interposed a barrier more dreadful than death, they corresponded in the most affectionate terms. "The old Duke of Ormond said," (writes Swift in one of his letters) "that he would not change his dead son for the best living son in Europe. Neither would I change you, my absent friend, for the best present friend round the globe."

Others who were as affectionate and as constant, are only seen in the light which they derive from his fame; of these, the two Miss Blounts seem to have enjoyed the largest share of his esteem. To one of them, Martha, the concluding lines of the *Essay on the Characters of Woman* are said to be addressed, and the prurient imagination of a reverend Editor of Pope's Works discovered in the line,

"To you gave sense, good humour, and a *Poet*,"

evidence of a guilty intimacy between this lady and Pope. The same ingenious critic metamorphosed a note of Miss Blount's, which means nothing more than that she would be "at home" to Pope, though denied to her general acquaintance, into an assignation! This is an instance of greater acuteness in discovering those natural curiosities called "mares' nests" than any we are acquainted with, except the two celebrated instances, one when Mrs. Bardell's peace of mind was revived by "chops and tomata sauce," and the other when a Prime Minister was to



be overturned by the discovery of a note, in which he promised to join a party of children to Vauxhall Gardens.\*

The friends and the enemies of Pope have both assailed the memory of Martha Blount, and with equal injustice. Little is known of her, except what is to be found in her correspondence. One trait of her character has however been preserved. She nursed her brother with undaunted courage, (though she had never had the disease, the small-pox,) through the whole of the terrible illness which terminated his life. It is probably to this circumstance that Pope alludes in the line,

“Spleen vapours, or small-pox above them all.”

Much has been said of the freedom of the language of Pope's letters to the two sisters, Martha and Theresa Blount, and charges have been founded thereon, about as just as if the ladies of New York or Hayti were to arraign our sisters and daughters, because they speak of the legs of a piano-forte and the breast of a chicken. Such matters are as arbitrary as the rule which in the present day obliges us, in defiance of natural history, to assume that all animals of the canine species belong to the male sex, and permits us to speak of pantaloons, though it would be a breach of decorum to mention the name by which our grandfathers and grandmothers would with perfect innocency have more directly designated such garments. Did we want any illustration of this, we need only refer to many papers of the *Spectator* and the *Tatler* themselves, and, amongst others, to the very one to which Mr. Macaulay alludes as “not daring to indicate it to the squeamish readers of the nineteenth century,” and yet bestows upon it, as it deserves, the most unqualified praise. Sir Robert Walpole was certainly a man who knew the world, and Queen Caroline was a woman of unblemished reputation.† Yet there is a story told by Horace Walpole, of a conversation which his father held with the queen, which certainly was far freer than any which a gentleman of the present day would hold with a modest woman, however intimate he might be with her. If Mr. Macaulay relied upon these letters, or those to Lady Mary Wortley Montague, as the ground of the vague charges he has brought against the memory of Pope, he must for a moment have forgotten the duty he in general so admirably performs, of

\* It was the same genius, who, thinking (in which as usual he was wrong) that he had discovered that Pope once offered to give Lady Mary Wortley Montague a kiss, raised such a portentous cackle thereupon, that those who did not know the nature of the bird from which it proceeded, thought nothing less than that he had accused Pope of a crime for which his life would have been the forfeit.

† See her character, *Freeholder*, No. 21.



surrounding himself with the manners and habits of the day in which the person lived, of whom he is writing.

The success which attended the translation of Homer, enabled Pope to purchase an annuity, which, with the moderate patrimony he received from his father, was sufficient to supply his modest wants; and when his benevolence (which was almost the only expensive taste he had) made larger calls than usual on the fund, he made up for it by denying himself a vase for his garden, or some ornament for his grotto. "It is most certain that nobody ever loved money so little as my brother," said Mrs. Racket, his half-sister-in-law, and she had good reason for saying so. Pope was the only friend, the flow of whose generosity was not interrupted by the arrogant petulance of Savage, and he was busied with schemes for his welfare, when death put a period to the wretched career of that unhappy child of genius.\*

At a period when the authorship of "The Campaign" was so munificently rewarded, the possessor of so powerful a pen as that of Pope might have made his own terms with any party. He might have commanded the proudest station, or the most ample wealth. In three instances, (once through Addison himself,) overtures were made for this purpose by the Whigs. They were firmly and respectfully declined by Pope. Similar proposals were made, proceeding from a quarter from which such patronage might have been more welcome, but his religion stood in the way; "he could not make himself capable of a place without giving a great deal of pain to his parents—such pain, indeed, as he would not have given to either of them for all the places that could have been bestowed upon him." And Pope never, from first to last, received one farthing of public money.

His religion was that of a Christian in the highest sense of the word. The particular form of belief which he adopted was that which was endeared to him by the associations of his childhood; it was the religion of her at whose knee he had, with that sweet voice, "lisp'd with holy look his evening prayer," and it was from love to her memory, that at his latest hour he conformed to those outward observances, which to his manlier mind were as the tinkling cymbal and the sounding brass. To this faith he steadily adhered, braving the perils to which it exposed him (and they were not imaginary), with all the constancy, and none of the fanaticism, of a martyr. He replied to the arguments of Atterbury, (who took advantage of the moment when his heart

\* When Dennis was sinking under age, poverty and blindness, Pope forgetting all but the necessities of his ancient foe, wrote the prologue commencing,

"As when that hero, who, in each campaign,"

for the play which was acted for his benefit.

was softened by the death of his father, to attempt to convert him to Protestantism,) in a letter which Johnson says, "does not much recommend his principles or his judgments." We cannot agree with this opinion: it appears to us to be the production of a serious, liberal and religious mind. At any rate it does honour to his heart. Referring to Atterbury's allusion to the death of his father, he says:—"It is true I have lost a parent, for whom no gains I could make would be any equivalent; but that was not my only tie; I thank God another still remains (and long may it remain) of the same tender nature. *Genetrix est mihi*; and excuse me if I say with Euryalus,

'Nequeam lacrymas perferre parentis.'

A rigid divine may call it a carnal tie, but sure it is a virtuous one. At least I am more certain that it is a duty of nature to preserve a good parent's life and happiness, than I am of any speculative point whatever.

'Ignaram hujus quodcunque pericli  
Hanc ego, nunc, linquam ?

For she, my Lord, would think this separation more grievous than any other, and I, for my part, know as little as poor Euryalus did of the success of such an adventure, for an adventure it is, and no small one, in spite of the most positive divinity." ——— "After all, I verily believe your Lordship and I are both of the same religion, if we were thoroughly understood by one another; and that all honest and reasonable Christians would be so, if they did but talk enough together every day, and had nothing to do together, but to serve God, and live in peace with their neighbour.

"As to the *temporal* side of the question, I can have no dispute with you; it is certain, all the beneficial circumstances of life, and all the shining ones, lie on the part you would invite me to."

The controversy, strange to say, was carried on without the slightest diminution of respect or affection on either side: each of the combatants retained his own opinion, but the Poet expressed the utmost esteem, tenderness and gratitude,—said that it was "perhaps not in this world alone that he should have cause to remember the Bishop of Rochester;" and when Atterbury was sentenced to degradation and perpetual banishment, he proposed to accompany him in his exile, and had even brought the mother whom he loved so tenderly, to consent to this proof of the devotedness of his friendship. No person however was allowed to accompany the Bishop, but his daughter and her husband, and Atterbury wrote to Pope from the Tower:—"A little time will separate you and me for ever. But in what part of the

world soever I am, I will live mindful of your sincere kindness to me, and will please myself with the thought that I still live in your esteem and affection as much as ever I did; and that no accident of life, no distance of time or place, will alter you in that respect: it never can me, who have loved and valued you, ever since I knew you, and shall not fail to do it when I am not allowed to tell you so, as the case may soon be." Pope in his reply says:—"I fear there will be no way left me, to tell you this great truth, that I remember you, that I love you, that I am grateful to you, that I entirely esteem and value you: no way but that one which needs no open warrant to authorize it, or secret covenant to secure it: which no bills can preclude, and no kings prevent: a way which can reach to any part of the world where you may be, when the very whisper or even the wish of a friend must not be heard or even suspected. By this way I dare tell my esteem and affection for you to your enemies in the gates, and you and they, and their sons, may hear of it."

At their parting interview in the Tower, Atterbury presented Pope with a Bible: his affection survived his exile, and we find him a short time before his own death, writing a manly and affecting account of the death of the daughter, who had accompanied him into banishment, in an affectionate letter to Pope, in which he again recurs to the subject he seems to have had so much at heart.

This gentle and steadfast faith was alike proof against the arguments of Warburton, and the sarcasms of Bolingbroke, who have been compared to his good and evil genii, contending for the possession of his soul, and he sunk into

"The bosom of his Father and his God,"

expressing so complete a certainty of the soul being immortal, that he "seemed to feel it as it were by intuition." He did not, it is true, call any one to his bedside to see how well he could do what he could not help. He made no Ser. Ciappelletto confessions. He did not ask the forgiveness of friends he had not injured,—but he died, as *good* men of all beliefs and unbeliefs have died, and will die to the end of the world, peacefully and fearlessly.

Our subject has led us to greater length than we had intended; we should otherwise have added a few remarks on the characteristics of Pope as a poet. We can no more agree with Mr. Macaulay on this part of the subject than on the other. He speaks of the perfecting of the noblest measure of English versification as the "discovery of a trick," as an art "as mechanical as that of mending a kettle or shoeing a horse." This is the old

story of Columbus and the egg. It was no mean genius which enabled the boy of sixteen to attain a perfection in versification which the greatest masters of the English language had failed to reach. Even the verse of Dryden, in the full vigour of his genius, though infinitely more majestic and sonorous, is by no means so melodious or so easy as that of Pope in his nonage. The ease with which such versification is imitated, no more entitles us to look with scorn on the first discoverer of the secret, than the fact that every ordinary mechanic can now apply the centrifugal motion to the steam engine, would justify us in regarding with contempt the genius of Watt.

Mr. Macaulay calls the Rape of the Lock Pope's best poem: high as we are disposed to rank it, we should not give it that place. The Rape of the Lock reminds us of one of Watteau's best pictures, where his belles and beaux, with their short natural faces, and long unnatural stomachers and periwigs, are just as veritable men and women, flirting, making love, quarrelling and making it up again, as if there were no such things as high-heeled shoes, sword-knots, fans, powder, patches, and paint, in the world, true alike to the eternal human heart, and to the evanescent fashion of the day. Restore the costume of Queen Anne, and Kensington Gardens, on a bright warm Sunday in June, is an animated Watteau. But it is on higher grounds than brilliant fancy, smooth versification, and a nice observation of the manners of society, that the claim of Pope to the eternal gratitude of mankind rests. It is upon his Moral Essays, his Satires, and his Epistles; upon his skill as an anatomist of human nature. These were the works which induced Swift to exclaim, "God preserve you for contributing more to mend the world than the whole pack of (modern) parsons in a lump."

We have but a few words to add, and those are with regard to Mr. Macaulay himself. We feel that in expressing our dissent from him on a question of literary history and criticism, we have taken up the gauntlet of a giant. Were the arm by which this blow has been struck at the memory of Pope less powerful, we should have passed the gage by unnoticed; but there are thousands in this and other countries with whom the opinion of Mr. Macaulay is a judgment against which there is no appeal. He has won this confidence well. He exercises the power which it confers upon him nobly. He is ever in the foremost rank wherever the rights of political and religious freedom, education, or humanity demand a champion. When an error is committed by one so respected, and so followed, it is doubly dangerous; and though it is with feelings of unfeigned



diffidence that we have pointed out what we conceive to<sup>e</sup> be an error in his estimate of one whom (to borrow the expression of the greatest genius of our own day) we regard as “the great moral poet of all times, of all climes, of all feelings, and of all stages of existence,” we have not shrunk from the discharge of a duty imposed upon us by our loyalty to the mighty dead.

J. P.

ART. II.—LIVES OF EMINENT UNITARIANS. By  
 Rev. W. TURNER, JUN. 2 vols. 12mo., 1840-3. J. Green,  
 J. Mardon, London.

AN apology is due to the respected Author of this instructive work, for our silence on its merits and claims, though so long a period has elapsed since the appearance of the first volume. The truth is, and we know not why we should not plainly tell it, an elaborate notice of it was prepared, and by some inexplicable mishap was lost,—and we have ever since been living in the hope that it would make its appearance. This must account for the slowness with which a work once done is undertaken afresh,—and we trust will be some excuse for any thing merely perfunctory that may appear in the manner in which the duty is now discharged.

Those to whom, provoked or unprovoked, a sneer at Unitarianism is ever welcome, might find some temptation to it, on discovering from these volumes the unexpected number of "*Eminent*" men whom this faith has nurtured. Thirty-three Eminent men in little more than a century, for Biddle, with whom these biographies commence, was born in 1615, and Priestley, with whom they close, in 1733, make more than the proportion of greatness that falls to the ordinary associations of mankind. But, in truth, those who look closely into the histories of these men, and are intimately acquainted with the religious temper of their times, will not be disposed to find fault with Mr. Turner's selection of an epithet. He probably styled them eminent, not as claiming for them all a place among great men, but as the distinguished in their own class. Yet when we take into due account the difficulties with which most of them had to contend; the learning with which most of them were graced,—acquired in private, under all the disadvantages of solitary study, by outcasts from the National Seminaries; the fidelity in which they gave their affections to God's Truth, and preferred poverty and an honest Confession before riches and Profession; the influence they have exerted on the civil and spiritual liberties of mankind, and the degree in which we may owe it to them that free Inquiry and religious Progress have an existence in the world,—we will be constrained to number those men among the most Eminent benefactors of their race.

These biographies are written with exemplary care, and with that minute research which belongs only to labours of love. Everything is told that could be desired of their professional

labours, and of their public relations to the history and progress of religious interests. But at the same time, the narrative is totally without vivacity, domestic incident, and the warmth of life. The thirty-three are presented as impersonal men, without family history or interest, as if they had literally abandoned father and mother, children and wife, brother and sister, for the kingdom of God's sake, and stepped out, bodiless and homeless, into the world. Mr. Turner's limits, or some conceived unity of design, along with the absence of materials, may have compelled him to adopt this colourless biography,—but we are satisfied that even for the more specific religious objects immediately in his view, it has greatly injured the effectiveness of his faithful and laborious work.

The first Englishman who ever wrote in defence of the Unity of God was JOHN BIDDLE, of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and for some time Master of the Grammar School of Gloucester. He had communicated to a few friends, as the result of long inquiry, some doubts of the Deity of the Holy Spirit. This paper, by treachery or accident, came before the Parliamentary Committee, then sitting at Gloucester, and Biddle was committed to gaol, in 1645, on a charge of heresy. This was the time when the Assembly of Divines, from whom the celebrated Confession proceeded, was holding its sittings in Westminster Abbey. Before this Assembly Biddle had to appear, more than once, but with no result beyond threats and railing,—until wearied out by a seven years' confinement, with the view of making the world acquainted with his case, and of expediting judgment, he at length published the tract against the Deity of the Holy Spirit, which was the cause of this lingering persecution. The House of Commons issued an order, that it should be called in, and burned by the common hangman. But Biddle was not thus to be silenced: other publications followed, and the Assembly of Divines thinking it more effectual to consign Biddle himself, instead of his writings, to the hangman, obtained from Parliament an ordinance, making it felony to controvert the deity of the Son or of the Holy Spirit, and enacting that any one convicted of this offence should be put to death without benefit of clergy. This statute Presbyterian Divines asked and obtained from a Presbyterian Parliament, in the middle of the seventeenth century. The world has made progress in two hundred years, however we may shake our heads over the religious follies of our own days.

There can be no doubt that Biddle, at a later period, would have fallen a victim to this persecuting instrument, had it not been for the high hand and generous policy of Cromwell. Even Cromwell was obliged to yield so far to the persecuting spirit,

as to detain him in prison, and at last banished him to the Scilly Islands in 1655. After three years he was restored to liberty by Cromwell. On the restoration of Charles II. he was dragged before a Magistrate from the privacy of his own house, where he and a few friends had met for religious communion and worship,—and after trial, was fined one hundred pounds. He was unable to pay, and cast into prison. There, amid filth and stench, *he died in five weeks.* Such was the fate of the first man who wrote in support and promulgation of Unitarianism in this Country: but the blood of Martyrs is the seed of the Church.

The year after Biddle's death, was born THOMAS EMLYN, in 1663. Emlyn was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and for a time was Chaplain to the Countess of Donegal, then resident in London, with whom he afterwards removed to Belfast. At this period he was not a Nonconformist; but in 1691 he became one of the Ministers of the Presbyterian Congregation in Wood-street, Dublin, as a colleague to Mr. Joseph Boyse. Emlyn was established in simple Unitarianism by discovering the polytheistic tendency of such writers as Sherlock and Howe, and the rest of the tri-theistical school, and his inability to find a trinity, or indeed anything but logical quibbles and evasions, in the Sabellian scheme. Emlyn's preaching soon exposed him to the suspicions of his hearers and of his colleague, Mr. Boyse. They obtained from him a full confession of faith, and then brought him before the Presbyterian Church Courts. He was silenced by their authority, and obliged to retire for a time into England. On his return to Ireland, to protect himself and his opinions from abuse and misrepresentation, he was induced to publish his "*Humble Inquiry into the Scripture Account of Jesus Christ.*" This tract brought him into the civil Courts. At his trial seven Bishops took their seats upon the Judges' bench.

"If," said Emlyn, "they had used arguments with me, or had informed the Court how unfit a jury of tradesmen were to judge of abstruse points of divinity, or had protested as holy bishops of old did, against that strange and unheard-of impiety, that a spiritual or church affair should come before a secular judicature, I should have thought it would have been to their praise."

Emlyn was found guilty, and, refusing to retract, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and to pay a fine of a thousand pounds,—and, as a substitute for the pillory, was led round the Four Courts for jeer and insult, with a paper stating his misdemeanours on his breast. After two years' imprisonment his fine was reduced to seventy pounds, and we are informed that



the Archbishop of Armagh, who had a shilling in the pound on all fines, demanded his full per centage, and was with difficulty persuaded to be satisfied with twenty pounds, which, says Mr. Turner, he had the meanness to take, and then quotes the following words, we suppose from Emlyn himself:—"thinking it no blemish to his charity or generosity to make this advantage of the misery of one who for conscience towards God had endured grief."

After his imprisonment, Emlyn removed to London, where he published a series of important works on Unitarian Doctrine, and lived in peace, until his death in 1743.

Ten years later than Emlyn, JAMES PEIRCE was born, in 1673. He was the son of Nonconformist parents, and, according to the custom of the English Dissenters of that period, completed his Theological studies in Holland, first at Utrecht, and afterwards at Leyden. He afterwards lived for some time at Oxford, for the sake of access to its libraries. His first settlement with a Congregation was at Cambridge, where he made for himself a learned reputation, and became the friend and companion of the celebrated Whiston. In 1713, he removed to Exeter, having previously adopted Arian sentiments from a study of Dr. Samuel Clarke's treatise on the Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity. At that time a singular practice prevailed among the Dissenting Congregations of Exeter. Three of them were united under the pastoral charge of four associated Ministers. A Committee superintended the temporal affairs, and the contributions of the whole body were equally shared among the Ministers. This was a union liable to be interrupted by a want of charity or discretion in any one of the four Ministers. A Mr. Lavington, one of them, had neither charity nor discretion; and at a meeting of the Assembly, the forms of Presbyterian government being then observed in that part of the country, each minister was required to state his belief in the doctrine of the Trinity. Mr. Peirce made his confession in these words:—

"I am not of the opinion of Sabellius, Arius, Socinus, or Sherlock. I believe there is but one God, and can be no more. I believe the Son and Holy Ghost to be divine persons, but subordinate to the Father; and the Unity of God I think is to be resolved into the Father's being the fountain of the divinity of the Son and Spirit."

"Three others," (says Mr. Turner,) "when called on, denied the authority of the meeting to require an account of their faith, and positively refused to make any declaration; and Mr. Peirce, in the account he has left of these proceedings, expresses his regret that he had not done the same. At length it was formally resolved, on the

motion of Mr. Lavington, 'that it is the general sense of this assembly, that there is but one living and true God, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are that God.' During the discussion, the wildest extravagances of Tritheism were defended; and one of the high party, when the absurdity of his creed was urged upon him, replied, 'I leave God to reconcile his own contradictions.'"—Vol. i. p. 110.

This declaration of faith on the part of Mr. Peirce led to his ejection from his pulpit, along with his friend and colleague Mr. Hallett. A powerful minority retired with him, and formed a Society in which his most advanced views were in full sympathy with those of his hearers. After this period he published the work by which he is chiefly known,—a Paraphrase on some of the Epistles of St. Paul, after the manner of Mr. Locke.

He was persecuted by the Dissenters when alive, and by the Church of England when dead. He died in 1726. His friends desired to raise a monument to his memory in the Church-yard of St. Leonard's, where he was buried. The Clergyman of the parish refused to permit the inscription in which his merits were recorded, to be engraved. The following words were then submitted for his sanction:—"Here lies the reverend, learned, and pious Mr. James Peirce." He returned for an answer, that he was not reverend, for he was not ordained; and that he was not pious, for he taught errors. The tombstone bears this inscription:

MR. JAMES PEIRCE'S TOMB,  
1726.

We wish we could say that this stupid bigotry was unparalleled in this nineteenth century.

NATHANIEL LARDNER, perhaps the most eminent name among Unitarian Dissenters, was born in 1684. He studied at Utrecht, and commenced preaching in 1709, at the age of twenty-five. So little favour did learning and admirable matter, not attractively set forth, win for him, that twelve years afterwards we find him lamenting:

"I am at a loss how to dispose of myself. I can say that I am desirous of being useful to the world. Without this, no external advantages relating to myself will make me happy; and yet I have no prospect of being serviceable in the work of the ministry, having preached many years without being favoured with the approbation and choice of any one congregation."

In 1723, he took part in a course of lectures, at the Old Jewry, on the Evidences of Religion, and this was the foundation

of the celebrated work, "The Credibility of the Gospel History; or the Facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament confirmed by passages of ancient authors, who were contemporary with our Saviour or his Apostles, or lived near their time." This work, says Mr. Turner,—

... "placed him at once in the first rank of Christian scholars,—a rank from which he can never be displaced; for all parties, not merely those who rejoice in counting him one of themselves, but those who differ most widely from his views of controverted doctrines, agree in awarding the meed of praise, to the learned, the accurate, the candid Lardner."

The second part of the *Credibility of the Gospel History* began to appear in 1733, and was completed 1755. For a work which, from first to last, was the labour of two-and-thirty years, the author received one hundred and fifty pounds. But such works being inappreciable, their true rewards, and their money returns, are incommensurable.

In the year 1740, he lost his father, then eighty-seven years of age, Lardner himself being in his fifty-seventh year. His emotion and his filial love on the occasion remind us of the piety of More. Such signs of sensibility, of religious trust and tenderness, in a man of Lardner's character for profound wisdom and severe learning, are inexpressibly precious.

"I am full of grief, and find it very difficult to bear up under the affliction. I entreat the Lord Almighty to be my father and protector, to support me, and to guide me in the remaining part of my life, so as that I may live to his praise and glory. I entreat and pray that he will enable me to behave as a Christian, and one persuaded of his fatherly care and protection, and that this affliction may be improved by me for my further humiliation and repentance, for engaging in a closer dependance on God,—for quickening my preparations for another and a better world."

In 1745, he received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from the University of Aberdeen. The following modest reflection, on this occasion, is actually startling to one accustomed to the easy boldness with which young men seek these dignities in our days. "I pray God, I may not be elevated by any acceptance my labours meet with, but that I may proceed with humility, diligence, and integrity in the whole of my life."

In 1756-7, appeared the supplement to the *Credibility*, being a *History of the Apostles and Evangelists*, writers of the New Testament; and in 1759 was published the famous *Letter on the Logos*, which was the first of his works that identified Lardner with simple Unitarianism. From 1764-7, appeared in



successive volumes the Collection of Ancient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion. This great work was completed in his eighty-fourth year; and whilst engaged in a history of the Early Heretics of the Christian Church, he died suddenly in 1768.

The most eloquent of the early Anti-Trinitarian Divines was the celebrated JAMES FOSTER, born in 1697. Persecuted in his youth, and barely supported by the poor congregation he served, Foster at one time had serious intentions of turning from preaching to glove making. A fortunate invitation to a London congregation opened a field for the exhibition of his powers. His lectures at the Old Jewry were of unexampled popularity among all classes, from peers to wits and free-thinkers. Mr. Turner very happily introduces Pope's celebrated notice of Foster.

"Mr. Foster's modesty and uncommon talents as a Preacher, it is well known, have been immortalized by Pope in one of those striking epigrammatic couplets which exhibit the poet's remarkable and somewhat formidable powers over the character and reputation of men, by which, as the humour seized him, he knew how to 'damn to everlasting fame,' or 'pay a life of hardship by a line.'

'Let modest Foster, if he will, excel  
Ten Metropolitans in preaching well.'"

Foster's Sermons are additional proofs of the prevailing taste, in those days, for practical ethics, and elegant, if not very profound, moral speculations, of which the periodical literature of the period, under Steele and Addison, affords such happy examples. In our days, Foster's sermons would attract no crowds: but then our crowds are attracted by nothing half so good. No doubt, as with many great speakers, much of Foster's power over an audience must have been derived from that which belongs only to the living eye, utterance, and action,—and what the printing press has no types for.

In 1748, Foster received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Aberdeen,—and on this occasion also we find remarks in a letter from Professor Fordyce so apposite to the foolish rage for Degrees in our own times, that we may do some good by extracting them:—

"I am glad that, by our despatch of what ought to have been despatched long ago, we prevented Mr. Foster's declining what so well becomes him to receive, and us to confer. I assure you, sincerely, we rather seek to reflect honour on ourselves, than to do you honour, by rightly placing the academical dignity, the principal value of which is,



the being, at once, highly merited and entirely unsolicited. Our Society mean, by the just compliment inserted in the body of the diploma, rather to express their esteem of the *modest preacher*, than to do full justice to his character. For my part, Sir, it gives me a sincere pleasure to have contributed my small mite to do justice to the merit of one who has so often contributed to exalt my devotion, and to confirm my attachment to virtue.”—Vol. i. p. 195.

Foster cannot be ranked either as a profound thinker, or as a speaker who had the power of touching the deepest parts of human nature; but as a pious, useful, and pleasing writer on practical religion, he will always hold his well-earned fame.

In 1699 was born **GEORGE BENSON**, author of the paraphrases on the Epistles of St. Paul, and of the History of the first planting of Christianity. He was for some years associated with Lardner, as pastor of the congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Crutched Friars. We give this very unworthy notice of Benson for the sake of introducing the following passage from Mr. Turner, respecting the change which has taken place, since his days, in the friendly relations of eminent Divines of the Established and Nonconformist Churches. Benson was avowedly an Arian:—

“In 1747, Dr. Benson printed a volume of ‘Sermons on several important subjects.’ A letter which he received from Dr. Herring, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, in acknowledgment of a presentation copy, accompanied with congratulations on his recent elevation to the primacy, has been preserved, and merits insertion, as a model of that liberal and truly Christian spirit which we could wish to find in all stations, and more especially in one of such high dignity and extensive influence.

“‘Reverend Sir,—I cannot satisfy myself with having sent a cold and common answer of thanks for your volume of most excellent and useful sermons. I do it in this manner with great esteem and cordiality. I thank you at the same time, as becomes me to do, for your very obliging good wishes. The subject on which my friends congratulate me is, in truth, matter of constant anxiety to me. I hope I have an honest intention; and, for the rest, I must rely on the good grace of God, and the counsel and assistance of my friends.

“‘I think it happy that I am called up to this high station at a time when spite and rancour and narrowness of spirit are out of countenance; when we breathe the benign and comfortable air of liberty and toleration; and the teachers of our common religion make it their business to extend its essential influence, and join in supporting its true interest and honour. No times ever called more loudly upon Protestants for zeal, and unity, and charity.

“‘I am, Rev. Sir, your assured friend,

“‘**THOMAS CANTUAR.**’

"Another letter, in the same spirit, from the Author's namesake, Dr. Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, is given by Dr. Amory, and is inserted here, as illustrating the sort of intercourse which was *then* permitted between Church dignitaries and dissenting ministers of eminence.

"Sir,—I received, at my coming to town upon Saturday last, what you are pleased to style a small, but must allow me to esteem a very valuable present,—your Paraphrase and Notes on the seven Catholic Epistles. I have not yet had time to peruse them; but I could not, till I had, delay to return my thanks for the great favour which you have done me, and to which I wish I could think myself entitled upon any of the other accounts you mention, besides that only of wearing a name to which you, by your learning, have done honour.

"I can only say for myself, that I have a sincere desire to do all the good which my abilities will capacitate me for in the station in which it has pleased Providence to place me; and a sincere delight to see virtue and religion defended, in an age which so much wants it by able hands. And no one can be more ready than myself to acknowledge how much, upon this account, we are indebted to the learned labours and admirable writings of several of those whom we have the unhappiness to have differing from us in less important particulars.

"I beg of God to bless your and their labours for his service, and to unite us all in love and charity here, and glory hereafter. And yourself I beg, with much regard, to believe me to be, your faithful and much obliged humble servant,

"M. GLOCESTER."

"We may add to the Author's friends and occasional correspondents among distinguished churchmen, *Hoadley, Butler and Law*,—names which may rather be said to confer honour on the elevated stations to which they were raised, than to receive honour from them. In the list of subscribers to Dr. Benson's posthumous History of the Life of Christ, we also observe the Bishops of Lichfield and Worcester; Shute Barrington, afterwards Bishop of Durham; Newcome, then Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, figuring along with Lardner, Fleming, Kippis, Price, and many other "*Reverends by courtesy*" of that day, but as good bishops as themselves notwithstanding. When however we contrast these things with the strange outcry which has recently been excited, when two Bishops subscribed to a volume of sermons published by a Unitarian Minister, we are constrained to acknowledge our apprehension that, in some respects, the former times were better than these."

TAYLOR, of Norwich, was born in 1694. At the age of twenty-one he took the charge of a dissenting congregation in Lincolnshire, on a salary of twenty-five pounds,—and in that situation he remained for eighteen years. A letter written by this eminent scholar, when he was thirty years of age, we cannot transcribe without a blush of shame at the thought of what true servants of God, and lovers of knowledge can do, in the face of

poverty, and the absence of the outward facilities of learning,—and of how those more amply blest with such advantages want the spirit to use them in God's service, and in quest of his truth :—

“ Dear Mr. Johnson,—I received yours about a month ago, much to my satisfaction ; and should have returned an answer ere now, but could not find time at one sitting, to be so large and particular as yours required. \* \* \* You do well to covet useful knowledge. The study of the Holy Scriptures will turn to the best account, both as to this and the other world. You cannot use too much caution in choosing books ; both time and money are lost upon mean and indifferent authors. Blessed be God, we are pretty well furnished with the labours of learned and pious men upon the Bible. But I think we yet want a practical comment upon the whole Bible, so contrived for the use of families as that a chapter may conveniently be read, with the exposition, morning and night, and yet take in the main of what is necessary to enlighten the head, and better the heart. Mr. Henry is quite too large and tedious for this purpose. Besides, certain it is, Mr. Henry did not sweat much for the exact sense of the texts in some parts of the work. Indeed, how could he ? The work itself is too much for one hand ; and Mr. Henry, it is well-known, took a great deal of pains in his public ministerial labours. He that writes even in a practical comment upon the Scriptures must, notwithstanding, deal in criticism ; otherwise how should he deduce practical conclusions with any certainty or satisfaction ? I have indeed laid a design of abridging Mr. Henry, and have prosecuted it as far as the prophet Jonah ; and should willingly carry it on, and am, by several of my friends encouraged to do so. But the work is at present at a stand ; for, such are my circumstances, that I have not yet had an opportunity of purchasing Mr. Henry's volumes, and I can no longer carry on my former trade of *borrowing*. But I am in hopes shortly to be furnished with that and other books necessary for the undertaking. As for the time of having any part of it ready for the press, I can say nothing. The price will be as low as I can bring it ; for, if I can therein do any service to the interest of Christ's kingdom, I am not at all solicitous about my own.

“ My hands are indeed, at present, pretty full of business ; for, besides my ordinary ministerial employment, I take boys to table and teach. If you know of any, Mr. Johnson, who would have their children instructed in the languages, writing, arithmetic, in a good, wholesome air, in a country retirement, out of the way of the common temptations of the age, where they should in every respect be carefully looked after, and well done to, if you should recommend them to me, I hope through the blessing of God upon my endeavours, you would never be ashamed of it. We are situated pleasantly, at some distance from a little country village, out of the sight or hearing of anything that's vicious, whereby youth may be corrupted, near the navigable river which runs between Boston and Lincoln. My wife is particularly well qualified for ordering and encouraging children.” \* \*



Taylor afterwards removed to Norwich, where he became eminent as the Author of a series of learned and able works on the Doctrine and Interpretation of the New Testament. These were chiefly his work on Original Sin, the Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, and Key to the Apostolic Writings, and the Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement, and finally his Hebrew Concordance. Jonathan Edwards gave the following testimony to the extensive influence of the *Treatise on Original Sin* :—

“According to my observation, no one book has done so much towards rooting out of these western parts of New England, the principles and scheme of religion maintained by our pious and excellent forefathers, the divines and Christians who first settled this country, and alienating the minds of many from what, I think, are evidently some of the main doctrines of the gospel, as that which Dr. Taylor has published against the doctrine of Original Sin.”

Similar testimony was given in a different way in a book called “*The Arian’s and Socinian’s Monitor*,” which, says Mr. Turner, “describes the author as tossing upon the burning billows of hell, and vainly supplicating mercy and forgiveness from the God whom he had blasphemed. Some later Editions of this work have been even adorned with a frontispiece faithfully representing to the eye the above description.”

In the year 1757, at a great sacrifice to himself, influenced by a consideration for the interests of religious truth, he undertook the office of theological tutor in the Academy at Warrington, which was then established. The following solemn warning to his students, with which he always opened his courses of Lectures; has become justly celebrated :—

“I do solemnly charge you in the name of the God of Truth, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life, and before whose judgment-seat you must in no long time appear, I. That in all your studies and inquiries of a religious nature, present or future, you do constantly, carefully, impartially, and conscientiously attend to evidence as it lies in the holy scriptures, or in the nature of things and the dictates of reason; cautiously guarding against the sallies of imagination, and the fallacy of ill-grounded conjecture. II. That you admit, embrace or assent to no principle or sentiment by me taught or advanced, but only so far as it shall appear to you to be supported and justified by proper evidence from revelation or the reason of things. III. That if at any time hereafter any principle or sentiment by me taught or advanced, or by you admitted and embraced, shall, upon impartial and faithful examination, appear to you to be dubious or false, you either suspect or totally reject such principle or sentiment. IV. That you keep your mind always open to evidence; that you labour to banish from your breast all prejudice, prepossession and party-zeal; that you



study to live in peace and love with all your fellow Christians, and that you steadily assert for yourself, and freely allow to others, the unalienable rights of judgment and conscience."

The second volume contains the Lives of those Eminent Unitarians who, being beneficed Clergymen, or functionaries of the Church of England, resigned their livings or emoluments to bear witness to the truth,—Robertson, Lindsey, Jebb, Evanson, Tyrwhitt, Paul Henry Maty, Disney, Fyshe Palmer, Gilbert Wakefield, and Friend. We cannot enter on even an outline of the honourable histories of this army of Martyrs. It is inspiring to find, in so brief a term of years, such a constellation of worth, learning, high-minded independence and devotion to truth. It naturally suggests the question, why have such secessions from the Church of England almost ceased. There are not wanting in our own day, examples of the same tendency to progress within the Church, and of the same honour and courage in avowal of the change, but not to the extent that seemed to be threatened by the retirement of all these distinguished clergymen, in the short period of twenty years. We must make room for one anecdote of Evanson, which now appears for the first time in Mr. Turner's Lives. Evanson had been the tutor of a grandson of the Earl of Bute, and the eldest brother of the present Lord Wharnccliffe. The young man died at the age of twenty-four, and at his death made a special request to his father, Colonel Stuart, that Evanson should be provided for. Colonel Stuart had strong government influence under Mr. Pitt's administration, and the following is an account of an interview between him and Evanson :—

"After stating his deceased son's wishes respecting his 'good old tutor,' he said, 'There is a situation under government quite at my disposal, and which is at your service, where you would have nothing to do; the income is £500 a-year.' Mr. Evanson expressed his cordial thanks for the Colonel's kind intentions; but he was in very comfortable circumstances; he did not need, or wish for, anything more than he had. And besides, he could not under any circumstances accept public money without having first earned it. The Colonel expressed some surprise, and after a pause said, 'Well, Sir, it now occurs to me, that it is in my power to put you in a situation where the income will be about the same, and where you would be called upon occasionally to do something: I hope you can accept of that?' Mr. Evanson, after expressing his acknowledgments for the intended kindness, said he must decline accepting that situation also; for entirely disapproving the measures of the administration, he could not accept of any favour from, or act under them. And again cordially thanking Colonel Stuart, and expressing much satisfaction at being so affectionately remembered at the close of his life by his former amiable pupil, assured him he was very easy in his pre-

sent circumstances, and wished not for any change. The Colonel expressed great surprise and regret at this second refusal. 'Well, Sir,' said he, 'you do surprise me! I will make another proposition, which I hope you will accede to, or I shall be much grieved. Will you accept of one hundred a-year annuity for the remainder of your life, out of my private estate?' To this Mr. Evanson replied, that he did not feel an objection; for he perceived that in complying with the dying wishes of the son, he was gratifying the father, and therefore he should thankfully accept his liberal offer. This annuity Mr. Evanson accordingly received for the nine remaining years of his life."

Among those of more purely Nonconformist origin, the second volume contains a remarkable notice of Mr. Samuel Bourn, a man who, by the energy of his character, contributed much to the honest rejection of those doctrinal standards which long hung so loosely upon the English Presbyterians. In 1732 he became one of the ministers of the New Meeting at Birmingham, preaching on alternate Sundays at Coseley, where he resided, and where the congregation had formed this union of ministers with the Birmingham Society. Mr. Turner gives some passages from a sermon preached at Dudley in 1738, which show a catholicity of mind which proves how little any of us have surpassed, and how far some have deteriorated from, the freedom and wisdom of our ancestors.

"To substitute any human composures, whether articles, creeds, catechisms, or confessions, instead of the gospel as a rule of trial,—or to annex them to the gospel as necessary to be believed,—this is to give up the Scripture sufficiency, it is to return back into the tents of popery, and will in time sacrifice the cause of Christ to infidels. Let the Jewish Sanhedrim try Christ and his apostles, not by the oracles of the Old Testament, but by their traditions; let the priests of Rome try men's faith by the Council of Trent, instead of the New Testament; but let not protestants, let not protestant dissenters, so far forget themselves, so wholly give up all their great principles, as to set up any human composure as an idol, and then let loose their anger against those who will not bow down to it. \* \* \* \*

"My friends, as I study the glory of our own body, and our advance towards Christian perfection, I hope you will allow me to deal freely with you. If you can justify exposing, abusing any upright Christian brother, for believing what upon inquiry he taketh to be sacred useful truth; if you can justify calling him by any unpopular, odious names; if you can justify shyness towards his person, or any ill office to his interest, credit and usefulness; I will undertake to justify all the ill-manners, all the abusive names, all the barbarous and bloody executions of Jews; of pagans, and of papists against innocent Christians, in every age since the name was known in the world. Let us then all agree to quit the camp of the enemy, the camp of antichrist. This we have not

done, till we allow every man, every private Christian, every Christian minister, full liberty to use his own judgment, his own conscience, his own eyes, in understanding his Bible as well as he can; and till we have learnt to think no worse of a Christian brother for differing in opinion from us, while he seeks the truth as honestly as we can pretend to do. Union in this one point, as it strikes at the root of popery, so it will at once put an end to all church tyranny, persecution, and imposition, and extinguish all angry contentions and passionate disputes about religion. And I am much mistaken if any other remedy will do it."—Vol. ii. p. 327.

The somewhat formidable vigour of Mr. Bourn's character was shown by the calumny and petty persecutions which he suffered from those who feared the influence of so uncompromising a man. It may illustrate the treatment of obnoxious dissenting ministers in those days to state, that he was twice brought before the quarter sessions for transgressing the liberty allowed by the Toleration Act, and once summoned before the magistrates "to show cause why he should not be removed to his former settlement, as a person likely to become chargeable to the parish."

The other distinguished Unitarians of whom this volume contains memoirs, are Turner of Wakefield, Price, and Priestley. The memoir of Mr. Turner exhibits a learned, pious, and good man carrying into the various relations of life, public and private, the earnest simplicity of a Christian, dignified by the ease and attainments of the accomplished scholar. His Letters to his sons, some specimens of which are given in this volume, are delightful combinations of the qualities most likely to gain at once the affection, the confidence, and the reverence of young minds,—of the blended interests of the instructor and the father. The Life of Dr. Price is one of the most interesting and carefully executed in these volumes. A monument has lately been erected to this admirable man, in the Chapel of Newington Green, at the instance of his present successor in its pulpit, Mr. Cromwell, whose pious care had previously provided the same mark of respect for the honoured name of *Barbould*.

The notice of Dr. Priestley is necessarily only a sketch, but these volumes would not have been complete without it, and with great judgment it passes rapidly over details which are amply recorded elsewhere, and dwells chiefly on the character of his mind. The question of his religious sensibility is touched upon, with the manifestation of a feeling that justice has not been done him, even by his own admirers, in this respect. For ourselves, we agree with Mr. Turner that perhaps no man ever lived who was more habitually devout,—whilst, as a *writer*, we

may doubt whether he had the power to touch, by words, the deepest springs in the moral and religious nature of man, to awaken or feed enthusiasm, "or to exhibit Christianity in its most quickening form." That Christianity came to himself in its most quickening form we cannot doubt,—but vividly to communicate this vital power to others requires peculiar properties of mind, which perhaps he did not possess. No one, on the whole, could justly place Priestley below Channing, yet Channing had the power of awakening his own emotions, of depicting his own ideals within the consciousness of others, to a degree which the warmest admirers of Priestley will not claim for him. The difference was in the *genius* of the men.

The Lives contained in these volumes which our space has not permitted us to notice, are those of Hallet, Bulkley, Viscount Barrington, Chandler, Lowman, Fleming, Dixon, Latham, Rotheram, Clark, Aikin, and Towgood. We have taken a few sketches from this Unitarian Biography, partly with the view of directing our readers to this valuable record of the lives and labours of so many faithful servants of God, and seekers of his truth,—and partly to admonish our churches from what a noble ancestry they are descended, and that, in their case, to live for the future, is hardly more of a responsibility than to be worthy of the past. In meekness and courage may their spiritual birth-right be upheld,—and no man, friend or foe, have reason to say that the interests of freedom and truth would have been safer in their fathers' hands, than in their own !



### ART. III.—THE ALLOTMENT SYSTEM—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SOME very delightful dreams are connected with the subject of Political Economy. Unattractive as the words are in themselves, they are still, as it were, the walls of the gallery, which are hung with some of the most poetical of the imaginations of man's heart. Among the dreams to which the subject has given birth, is that of the equal distribution of the surface of the globe among its inhabitants. This dream is one which he who closes his eyes to prolong it, has, at *our* hands, no forgiveness to ask. We cannot get over the haunting and instinctive impression that every human being who is born into our world has a title to the use of some portion of that world as his own. The earth seems designed to be common property of the earth-born. A title older than any laws—which murmurs back over the Flood, to warble from the coverts of Eden—appears to have designed that every breather of the breath of this world should be entitled to the produce of such a portion of it as his labour could till and his necessities might require. But this is now a mere phantasy. If ever such claims were possessed, they have been resigned or lost. The few have immemorially been the proprietors of the globe; the many have to purchase the privilege of occupancy; and even the poor have to pay for their graves. Multitudes, myriads, millions, of the labouring classes, have no other connection with, or interest in the soil, than what arises from cultivating it for the pleasure and profit of others. We ask ourselves, Is this state of things to be continued for ever? Can there be no more equable adjustment of the territorial rights of the rich and the poor? Is there no plan or system which may do, in some measure, the work of an Agrarian Law, such as, respecting all recognized and legalized rights, shall meet the wants and answer the claims of those whose ancestral interests are more ancient than paper, parchment, or papyrus, and whose wants, which speak to us so pleadingly now, will, if neglected, speak in sterner language to our children?

We are willing to admit—we are perfectly convinced—that if every nation under heaven were to effect, through its legislation, an equal division of its territories among its subjects, the measure would neither be beneficial nor lasting. Force is not the principle of industry. An agrarian law could not create an

agrarian race—a people to whom it shall be universally, or even generally, a blessing. It would only be tried, to be broken. At first in secret, and afterwards in open defiance of it, some would extend their possessions, and others would contract them: at first there would be many richer by the resignations of others, and at last a few richest by the gathered resignations of all. Differences of strength, and differences of talent and knowledge, would, even if the divisions of land continued the same, make the produce of the respective shares widely and importantly different. But the direct tendency of these differences would be, to remove the new artificial and statutory land-marks, and to gather back into the hands of the stronger, the wiser, and the more fortunate, the property which had been vainly thought susceptible of an arbitrary and lasting distribution. Lycurgus could divide the lands of Sparta; but he could not perpetuate the division. And had the Gracchi lived to do more than they died for attempting, it might have been their fate to have seen with their own eyes the total or partial failure of their experiment.

It is not to this, therefore, that we are to look for the redress of those evils which accrue from the accumulation of landed property in the hands of a few wealthy owners. Agrarian laws have all the impotence of sumptuary ones, while they far exceed them in the mischief they would occasion. We have no desire to see the experiment tried again. What we *do* wish to see is this,—that every industrious man who desires to obtain, by his extra and spontaneous labour, a portion of his maintenance from the tillage of the soil, may have it always in his power to do so—may be enabled, whenever or wherever he may desire it, to obtain, from his opulent neighbours, from a benevolent association, or from the community itself, such a portion of land as he is able to cultivate and willing to pay for. Is this too much for man to ask of man? We think *not*. And this is the spirit of the Allotment System.

Until of late it has been the lot of the labouring classes—and especially in the neighbourhood of our great commercial and manufacturing towns—to live and die without having it in their power to obtain those blessings of increased health and comfort which would necessarily result from the combination of a proper share of profitable and salutary recreation with the monotonous wear and tear of their every-day employments. Land was indeed around them; but it was not to be had or hoped for by *them*. It was for the plough, for dairy-pasturage, for building, for pleasure-ground,—for anything, in short, but for the use of those to whom it would have been a source of such pure and

searching advantage. There were no gardens for *them*. The thought might cross them that, with a little plot of ground, they might grow roots and herbs for their families, and employ their own leisure time both happily and advantageously. But the thought would only be born to die, or to darken away into that mass of visionary but tantalizing wishes which add so much to the sufferings of those who “know delight but by her parting smile.”

This *was* the state of things; but it has now been greatly modified and improved. In many localities, Associations have been formed for the purpose of taking land, to be divided out into allotments among the labourers and artisans of the neighbourhood. These are, in fact, *Friendly Loan Societies for the lending out of Land instead of Money*.\* And they have the same strong recommendations of returning what is lent with usury—*threefold* usury;—in the first place, for those who cultivate the allotments; in the next place, for those who take and let the ground; and, in the third place, for the original proprietor himself. We shall content ourselves with a few hints under each of these heads.

The advantages to the cultivators of the allotments are the first to require notice. These are many and great. They respect their interest, their health, and their virtue; we need not add, that they respect their happiness. The *profit* of a small plot, such as a labourer and his family can manage at spare hours, is found to be such as to give it a very weighty recommendation. No time is *lost* upon these grounds. The time, thus spent, is the vacant time of the labourer. The returns of spade-husbandry—calling forth the full energies of the soil—are such as to make a very substantial and desirable addition to the poor man’s stock of comforts and enjoyments. Whether he raise for home consumption or for sale, the alleviation of circumstances, obtained by this addition, is felt through the whole extent of his little reign. He has wholesome vegetables in the most wholesome state. He sees the morning dew on the cabbage that is cooked with his dinner at noon. He grows his own potatoes; and if there be any surplus, he can always turn

\* It is observable that the Bill, prepared and brought in by Lord Ashley, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and Mr. Stanton, recognizes the close connection of the Loan and Allotment Systems, being entitled “A Bill to encourage Industry, by facilitating the letting small Allotments of Land, and to provide for the Regulation of Loan Societies.” By authorising Allotment Societies to take security of their tenants, and make the rents payable by stated periodical instalments, the two institutions might be brought under one general Act, and protected by the same power of summary recovery.

such articles into money, or exchange them for manure, &c., as may suit his need or convenience.

The *health* of the labouring classes is also importantly benefited by this system. What! the health of the labourer increased by an addition to his labour? So we might once have asked; but it was in the days when we had explored less of that region of mysterious interest, the poor man's world. Alteration in the *kind* of labour is known to be of the greatest physical service. Whole classes are confined all day at employments, the direct tendency of which, if not counteracted, must be to produce settled and lingering disease, or attacks that quickly terminate in premature death. Tailors, shoemakers, painters, glaziers, &c, work at businesses which are notoriously destructive of health and life. On these, and on all such, the spade-labour of the allotment would operate almost as a specific. Asthma, consumption, &c., would work less and less destructively among them, in proportion as they resorted to this bracing and restorative counteractive. The air of the fresh field, and the wholesome exercise of the spade, would soon be found to work upon these seemingly fated classes with a power to open the contracted chest, to ease the labouring breath, and to colour the faded and feverish cheek with new and healthy life. To those employed in shops, manufactories, and warehouses, we need not say that such a change of air, scene, and occupation must be salubrious. And for labourers, already employed in the same kind of labour—those who earn their bread by working in fields and gardens—it must not be imagined that, where health has not to be recovered, it is likely to be endangered. Many are injured by working for others, but few or none by working for themselves. There is an ease and sweetness in voluntary labour which takes from it much of its power of wearing and exhausting the spirits. It is a pleasure, rather than a toil. It is work divested of its oppressiveness, more welcome than idleness and more recreative than rest.

This system is no less to be recommended for its effects upon the *virtue* of those upon whom it acts. Hitherto the labouring classes have had few suitable occupations for their leisure hours. This has laid them open to many and heavy temptations. The ale-house has been less frequented by the weary than by the vacant. Something must be done to avoid doing nothing; and that something has often been evil, from the silence of all voices that might put them in the way of doing good. The labourer who takes an allotment, takes himself so many hours out of the way of temptation; or, if he falls in its way, half deprives it of



its power. He has a resource, an occupation, an amusement. He need not seek either excitement or forgetfulness. He finds in his garden a substitute for the ale-house. He is happier over his spade than he ever was over his glass. Occasionally on the evening of a week-day, and still more frequently on the evening of the Sunday, he comes with his wife and children to his little garden, reviews his labour, talks of his plans and hopes, and feels, without analyzing his feelings, that he has a new stake in his world. Who will read these remarks and assent to them without admitting that the plan which produces such effects upon a great scale is and must be favourable to the social and domestic virtue of the labouring classes both in the country and in the town?

We have said that the plan is beneficial, in the second place, to those who let out the allotments, and inspect their workings for the advantage of their labouring fellow-creatures. It is so, because we can conceive of no nobler recompense that can be reaped by an individual or a society than that of seeing good resulting from their schemes and efforts to do good. This is the moral interest of the Land-Loan system to the agents of it. But the moral interest is not all. It is certain that, consistently with the fullest justice to the tenants, a profit may be made from the rent of land so divided (on the same principle as that which is made by the Friendly Loan Society), which may be either employed in extending and improving the local allotments themselves, or appropriated to any other charitable or philanthropic purposes, at the discretion of the directors. As it is impossible to define the exact point where what shall be left shall counterbalance what has been expended, and as it would be not only imprudence, but want of principle, to stop short on the *losing* side of that point, it is clear that a surplus *ought* to remain after the settlement of every year's accounts, which prudence would not suffer to lie idle, and which benevolence would use as an instrument of still enlarging good.

The third direction in which the allotment system yields a high usury is in respect of the actual proprietor of the land. Whatever be his disposition, and whatever the motives which have impelled him to permit or encourage the introduction of it on his property, one thing is certain, that he cannot take a surer way to benefit his own land. Whenever it returns into his hands, it returns in a very improved state of manageableness and productiveness. Cases, we understand, have occurred in which a most ungenerous and unjustifiable advantage has been taken of this, in using the allotment-tenants as mere improvers of the soil, and then dismissing them from it with

unprincipled and rapacious abruptness. Whatever may be thought of such conduct, it sets in a strong light the sense of the additional value thus conferred upon the land, by the spade and the manure of the allotment-tenant. In many instances, land of the most worthless description has been reclaimed and brought into a high state of cultivation. The difference between the mass of unsmelted iron-stone and the polished and flexible blade which is finally wrought out of it, is not greater than that between such land as the allotment system receives it and the same land as it improves under the hand of guided and aided industry, fitted for the highest purposes of cultivation, and yielding, in succession, all the fruits of the climate from its bosom.

To these parties we might have added a fourth—the community. This system is doing its best to repair the social structure at its time-worn base. It is doing incalculable service to society by reconciling the labouring man to his country, and enabling him to hope that he shall not be a burthen to it. It has many of the benefits of emigration, without its costs and risks, its inconveniences and its dangers. The knowledge of this has gradually been gaining ground. It has reached and moved the legislature of the country. The House of Commons has recently appointed a Committee to examine witnesses, and to make a report upon the operation of the system in the districts where it had been tried. The Committee appears to have been very judiciously chosen. They examined witnesses taken from very different classes of society, as well as from very different parts of the country, but who were all interested in the system and acquainted with its workings. The Report of these examinations is a very valuable and instructive document. It sets in the clearest light the advantages that have accrued from the adoption of the allotment system, wherever it has been adopted. It shows that, in all parts of the country, it has worked, as it were, under a blessing. It represents the people, wherever it has been introduced, as eager to procure allotments, assiduous in cultivating them, regular in paying their rents, and benefited socially and domestically by the whole transaction. It shows that, in places where no land is to be obtained, there are numbers who are hoping, almost against hope, that it will be procured for them, and impatient for the day when they shall be able to strike their spades into a little plot of their own, and turn their leisure to the advantage of their families.

We shall bye-and-bye give a few samples from the different masses of evidences laid before the Parliamentary Committee

on this occasion ; but the cheapness of the document itself combines with the value and timeliness of its disclosures, to make it undesirable to occupy the pages of a small Quarterly with lengthened or numerous extracts. We refer our readers to the report itself, as well deserving their most considerate perusal ; and, if they have not before paid attention to the subject, we trust that such a perusal can scarcely be taken of it, without making them converts to its great and urgent importance.

We ought, perhaps, to intimate, that whereas the object of the benevolent associations which have carried out the allotment system in various parts of the kingdom has been to obtain land already in some degree of cultivation, for sub-division among their respective applicants, so the Parliamentary Committee has been expressly appointed, not only “ to inquire into the Results of the ALLOTMENT SYSTEM,” but to inquire also “ into\* the propriety of setting apart a portion of all waste lands which shall be inclosed by Act of Parliament, or of any lands which under any Inclosure Act shall have been appropriated to the benefit of the poor, to be let out in small allotments to the LABOURING POOR of the district, and also into the best mode of effecting the same.” This is an important difference, and an important step *forward*. We have waste lands enough to turn the tide of emigration. We have many and spacious tracts, scattered over the face of the kingdom, the use of several of which is almost restricted to some certain privileged geese and cattle, while the enjoyment of them is largely engrossed by the sportsman and the school-boy. Portions of such land (the total amount of which swells to provinces) are interspersed among the more favoured districts, like the black squares among the white on the face of the chess-board. A noble game, we trust, is about to be played upon these same black squares ;—a game in which they will eventually vanish—the gradual and invincible operation of patient industry assimilating them to the beauty and fertility of all that is round them. Is this impossible ? The impossibility, we believe, is now happily on the side of its *not* being attempted, and ultimately achieved. The Parliamentary Report has effectually set the question at rest ; and it will now be only a matter of thought and time, upon what scale and upon what plan to commence an undertaking so alleviative of incumbent burthens, and so rich in promise of better things to come. India, we are convinced, has never brought such true wealth into the country, as lies unexplored and neglected in her bosom, among her naked commons, her rush-covered swamps, her unwholesome salt marshes,

\* Report of Select Committee, Preamble.}]



and her long, long miles of mingled beauty and desolation, over purple and golden wastes of mountain and moor.

It will not be useless to place the difference between the private and the public views of this system in another point of light. The system in its private workings has undoubtedly a tendency to check the growth of pauperism; but it has no distinct reference to those who receive assistance from the poor-rates. It has no distinct parochial application. It aims to prevent the poor man from sinking into a pauper; but it does not interfere at all with the operations of the parish. But the parliamentary view of the subject avowedly regards the system as capable of being applied to the diminution of the parochial burthens, by finding healthy and productive employment for the able-bodied poor; and that, too, of a kind not liable to any of the objections which may be urged against the *kind* of employment to which the parish officers are often confined. The cultivation of the waste lands by their own industry and for their own benefit, will be a new and happy hope for many of the parochial poor. The examinations by the Parliamentary Committee evince the attention and interest which the point has excited. Should the measure be adopted, it will require immediate consideration, whether the working out of the allotment system as a scheme of parochial relief should be committed to the ordinary board of parish officers, or whether (which, we confess, appears to us more eligible) an independent, yet connected agency should be appointed for it. An allotment board in communication with the parish, would be, we think, the most advisable mode of making the experiment. But we should strongly deprecate the assignment of such an office, as a matter of law and course, to a board whose chief members should be the lord of the manor and the clergyman of the parish. These *might* be fit men for the office; but they might also be the most unfit in the world. We would leave election free, neither privileging nor excluding them. We should strongly urge the desirableness of constituting an allotment-board upon such large and liberal principles as would lay the system open, with the fullest latitude consistent with safety, to all who are able and willing to place themselves under its influences. We leave to past ages their closed-in pools: give us the running waters that will freshen and fertilize the land.

Society has long been upon a wrong tack as to the nature and remedies of moral evil. What is the history of vice, but a history of misdirected energy? The excesses of the labouring classes are often the workings-off, as it were, of an accumulation of vivacious impulses, which *will* be doing something, and



finding no care taken to induce them to do right, fall into wrong-doing almost as a matter of course, from the facilities and seductions to do so which are at all times round them. The daring and buoyant spirits of youth and early manhood, wanting all friendly aids to direct their energies to good, frequently discharge themselves, and obtain a kind of dear-bought relief, by rushing upon the first presented point of temptation or prohibition. Criminals are labourers, and often industrious ones, in evil. Induce them to give the same energy to anything good, and let them feel that the good is neither barren of profit nor of pleasure; and you may hope that the steps of past transgression will be retraced, and that, without any formal expression of contrition, the fruits of it will be shown and seen in newness of life. Pure pleasures, once tasted, may be relied upon for bringing their own relish with them; and he who shall once be brought to spend his evenings at his allotment, has a chance of working out a happy change in his life, of wearing a lighter heart, and of making a happier home.

The moral promises of this method of employing the young of the labouring classes—those who are actually, or who will be very probably, among the criminal or burthensome population of the country—are beginning to make themselves understood, and to exert some just influence on the higher portions of society. The cause has some able and enlightened advocates in both houses of Parliament. Some of the leading\* Magistrates are becoming aware of its importance. Many landed proprietors are themselves experimentally aware of its advantages, and desirous to extend them. The labouring classes, also, are acquiring a knowledge of it, not only as a resource against the pressure of hard times, and the periodical or occasional deficiency of employment, but as looking to higher ends and leading to happier issues. With these signs of the times before us, we hope that the day is not so distant but we may live to see it, when every district of the country will have its own estate of allotments, many of them supported by their own Loan Societies and Savings' Banks, and some of them even going further, and supporting, or helping to support, their own Agricultural Schools. In the meantime, it cannot escape the notice of the philanthropist, that all existing institutions which contemplate the prevention of crime or the reformation of the criminal, should have this system incorporated with their work-

\* Among these, we may be forgiven for referring to Mr. Rushton, the wise and good stipendiary magistrate of Liverpool, as having expressed his unqualified approbation of the system, as a means of reclaiming the lost ones of society.

ings. The house of reformation, and the workhouse, should do nothing without it. No scheme for the suppression of juvenile delinquency can omit it, without crippling its own efficacy. In all these cases, it will be found of incalculable service.

The tendencies and influences of the allotment system have never received a more touching or striking exemplification than in the recent trial of it at Tunbridge Wells, by Miss Chaloner.\* We are fortunately in possession of some authentic details of this beautiful transfiguration of evil into good. Where is the poetry which can vie with such reality? Where are the fabulous *Metamorphoses* which can compete with these actual changes? The details we have referred to form a portion of a letter addressed by Miss Chaloner to Lady Noel Byron. We need not add, that we give them as we receive them.

"I took a rough piece of ground, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres, which had been used as a brick field, consequently was in high mounds and pits, the former containing the surface mould, the latter caused by the digging out the clay; and about half an acre was in a swamp. After fencing, levelling, and trenching, the ground was divided into gardens, each containing the twentieth of an acre in extent, one path of a foot in width running between two gardens, each garden being marked off by the spade, and each numbered by a painted stone, with the figures on it. Boys from about 13 or 14 years of age, and not above 18, I then selected, finding their own tools, manure, seed, &c. &c., and each name and number belonging to his ground, registered in a book. The parents allowed to assist, just so far as would set the boy properly to work. The rent I pay for the field is £5. At first I had 34 gardens; each garden I rated at 3s. 9d., which sum I received from each tenant, during thirty weeks, at  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. the week, from the first Saturday in May to the last in November. I gain by the tenants no more than pays my rent and the tax for the ground. Not one farthing has been omitted paying; if even the hour appointed on the Saturday is not kept to, I make a great fuss about it; and if a boy were to let a week in arrear take place, it would be at the risk of forfeiting his garden and all his crop. Some pay 3d. at a time, but always in advance. From the complete success of this plan, I have been induced to fill up the swampy piece, with the exception of a little canal, which is cut at the lowest part of the ground, and into which all the water will run. By throwing down an enormous mound, built for white brick making, plenty of mould has been at command for this; and now I have just divided it into so many new gardens, as to increase the total number to 42. A respectable elderly man who has a little property, and still enjoys a little daily

\* We wrote this, as of one who would be living to read it. Alas! she is no more. Miss Chaloner died on the 6th of September. Few private individuals have shed so strongly round them the light of a sound and sunny mind, to which *Lôve* was Duty, and Duty was Love. She has left the field, after a noble day's toil; but there is enough yet and to spare, both for the reaper and for the gleaner.

labour, I now allow two gardens to, for which he pays rent, that he may be constantly on the ground, as general overlooker of the proceedings, and instructor to such boys as have no father to guide them. When he had but one garden, he was much too little on the ground to see what was going on, and to guard against intruders. The pecuniary advantages have been very great; the *clear profit* on each garden, taken at an average, £1, the expenses not exceeding 15s. each; but the moral advantages go much beyond this. At first I had trouble in keeping the boys to their own ground. Some quarrels and some pilferings took place; but upon vigorous measures being immediately taken, they soon found out the wisest plan was, not only to respect their own, but their neighbours' property. Nothing assisted more to the establishment of this point, than the being made to feel the value of the property they held; and this was easily done, by having the standing crop, belonging to a boy about to leave on account of his going into a permanent situation, valued, the amount paid to him by me, and the coming tenant promising to repay me by instalments. Since the occurrence of these events, not one unpleasant circumstance has arisen. The general improvement of the boys in manners and conduct is great; also of the parents, who have now the pleasure of vegetables for the family, and every assistance is given by them in collecting manure, &c., to help the garden. Such boys as have work or schooling employ their friends who have gardens to sell for them; and sometimes one boy makes the purchase from another, in the wholesale way. Thus trust and confidence in one another gain good footing; the value both of time and character experienced, the value of labour and steady industry so fully exposed, as to give such an impulse in their favour as to render them inviting to all."

These are the fruits of the juvenile allotments; of the effects of the system upon the adults of the working classes, we have evidence not less satisfactory in the published proceedings of the Select Committee of the House of Commons. The Committee, reporting for themselves upon the evidence laid before them, give the following as their impression of the general and moral influences of the system:—

"Under these arrangements, the system of garden allotments has proved an unmixed good. It has increased the produce, and enlarged the general stock of labour to be expended on the soil. It has enabled the labouring man to turn his leisure moments to profitable account, in raising wholesome food for his family, a rood of land often producing vegetables enough for six months' consumption. It has also supplied sound industrial training for the children under their parent's eye.

"Many striking instances have been stated to your Committee where the possession of an allotment has been the means of reclaiming the criminal, reforming the dissolute, and of changing the whole moral character and conduct. It appears that the holding of land directly from the landlord raises the position of the working man in his own



estimation, and gives him a feeling of independence and self-respect. It gives him a stake in the country, and places him in the class which has something to lose. It partly supplies that deficiency of innocent amusement and rational recreation which weighs so peculiarly on the lower classes of this country, and which must be counted among the causes that lead to the prevalence of crime. The field garden has attractions for the working man strong enough to relieve the monotony of a life of hired toil, and to dispel the listlessness and discontent which are often its accompaniments. It withdraws him from a dependence for amusement on the society of the alehouse. It gives him something which he may call his own, and as its value depends upon his own exertions, it prompts him to the exercise of self-control, and leads him to look on from the present towards the future. It furnishes him with an interest in life, to stimulate his faculties, to occupy his mind, and to inspire him with hope; and it becomes a powerful inducement to abstain from any of those offences which would lead to the forfeiture of this valued possession. Mr. Martin stated 'that of 2,000 heads of families holding allotments in Kent, not one was committed for any offence during the years 1841 and 1842. That in the parish of Hadlow there were 35 commitments in 1835. The allotment system was introduced in 1836, and in the following year, 1837, the commitments were reduced to one.' 'Since that, we have had among the tenants of the Society about 15 of those who were in prison in 1835, and there has been no cause of complaint against them since we have had them. Since the year 1837, there has been but one commitment from among the holders of allotments.'

"It does not appear to your Committee that these important benefits are purchased at the expense of any other interest. All the witnesses were unanimous as to the punctuality with which the rents of those allotments which are under proper management are paid, and no more trouble seems to have been involved in collecting these than any other rents; frequently indeed there is less. Numerous instances have been mentioned where the produce of the allotment has been effectual in keeping men from applying for parochial relief; and it may be safely assumed that a practice which diminishes the poverty of the labouring class, and promotes their good conduct, cannot but be beneficial to the community at large. It has likewise had a peculiarly good effect upon the relations between the landowner and his cottage tenants, increasing his acquaintance and interest in their circumstances, and exciting in them more thankfulness and respect.

"Captain Scobell, in the course of his very useful evidence, states, 'I have received numerous expressions of over-thankfulness, over-value, grateful expressions, when they pay the rent;' 'expressions that they ought to thank God it was put into the gentleman's heart, and presents of vegetables numerous and constant;' 'the allotment tenants would resist any one who was going to injure the property of their landlord, and would be very much inclined, in case of any disturbance or riot, to protect the property of those above them, instead of joining in any mischief; and I consider it a tie—a permanent tie—upon their minds, the positive proofs of which are to be seen, and which never deserts them,



and gives them a general feeling of kindness towards the class above, and improves that feeling.'"—*Report*, p. iv. v.

The following paper was delivered in by Mr. H. Martin, particularising twelve cases of persons "who had committed crime previously to having allotments, but who had committed none since." The locality is the parish of Hadlow in Kent.

"IN THE PARISH OF HADLOW.

"No. 1. Was committed to the county prison in 1834, for house-breaking; he had an allotment of land in 1837, and received a prize the second year for general good conduct.

"No. 2. Was committed in 1832 (with another), for sheep stealing, and attempting or proposing to murder the watchman; being found guilty, he was imprisoned, and his accomplice was transported for life. He was admitted a tenant in 1836, and has since conducted himself with propriety, and is regular in his attendance at one of the chapels in the parish.

"No. 3. Was committed in 1832, for highway robbery, and at the same time was suspected of passing counterfeit coin; the prosecutor from some cause was prevented from appearing against him, consequently he was acquitted. He had an allotment granted to him in 1836: the first year he received a prize of £2 for good conduct; the second year £1; the third year he received a certificate of the entire approbation of the committee; and the fourth year £1. He has now removed from the village, and placed by the liberality of a neighbouring gentleman in a comfortable cottage, to which is attached two acres and a half of land at a very moderate rent.

"No. 4. Was sent to the treadmill for a short time for disorderly conduct; he had two roods of land allotted to him early in 1839, and since that time has given no cause whatever for complaint.

"No. 5. Was sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment in 1834, for felony; he had an allotment granted him in 1838, and since that time he has conducted himself with much propriety.

"No. 6. Was committed to prison for a short period in 1833; in 1838 he had an allotment of land, and is now a very honest and industrious character.

"No. 7. Was committed for an assault in 1836: in 1838 he was admitted a tenant, and since that time has given no cause whatever of complaint.

"No. 8. Charged with receiving stolen property in 1835, but the evidence being defective he was discharged; shortly after he was admitted a tenant, and conducts himself with uniform propriety.

"No. 9. Has been several times detected in dishonest practices, and in 1838 was committed to prison for stealing wood; in January 1839 he had an allotment of land granted, his wife having engaged to see the rent paid, and the committee now think he promises fair to regain his character.

"No. 10. Was committed in 1838 for felony, and sentenced at the  
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assizes to six months' imprisonment; the committee were induced to grant him an allotment of land under a promise of good behaviour, which he has hitherto observed.

"No. 11. Has been committed to prison six times, and on each occasion underwent his punishment with much bravado; in addition to which he has been repeatedly suspected of stealing such things as turnips, potatoes, apples, wood, &c. He was admitted an allotment tenant in 1838, since which time no complaint has been made against him, and his land, which is only two roods, is a pattern of neatness.

"No. 12. Applied many times for land; but as he had been committed to prison for poaching, and was notorious for the depravity of his character, he was not admitted a tenant till May 1840, but since then has conducted himself to the satisfaction of the committee."—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 5.

The evidence of Capt. G. T. Scobell, R. N., is as follows:—

"Chairman:—Will you explain what you consider the moral effect on the general character of those labourers produced by this allotment system?—I consider that the moral effect is, that if any body were going to injure the property of their landlord particularly (but I believe it extends to those who have nothing to do with them), they would protect it; it gives them a general feeling of kindness towards the class above them, and improves that feeling if they had it before; and I consider they would be very much inclined, in case of any disturbance or riot, to protect the property of those above them, instead of joining in any mischief; that it is a tie, a permanent tie, upon their minds, the positive proofs of which are to be seen, and which never deserts them, for they are always ready to express their thankfulness on all proper occasions; character is invariably improved, and the worst often reclaimed.

"Lord Robert Grosvenor:—Is it within your knowledge that instances have occurred of those who had allotments combining to suppress outrages in the year 1830?—The neighbourhood I live in has been in a state of agitation, but not disturbance; but I felt myself personal confidence. I am a magistrate, and had occasion to be among bodies of people; and I have reason to believe that the class who had these grounds might be depended upon: I omitted to say, as a testimony of their thankfulness, unknown to me, about five years ago they subscribed their few pounds among themselves, and presented me with a silver cup, to my astonishment, and with an engraving on it; and to show how wholly it was done without the knowledge of any one who could lead them, my christian name was mis-spelt."

"Lord John Manners:—Do you perceive any marked improvement in the internal economy and management of their cottages?—Yes, I consider their comforts increased. I have known children of ten and eleven years old announce that they have tasted vegetables, since they have had these grounds, which they never saw on their fathers' tables before; they go almost daily to fetch something for their dinner, even throughout the winter, for winter crops are very much cultivated.

“Chairman:—Do you think that a beneficial effect is produced on the character of those persons by their having those increased comforts which arise from their limited allotments, the value of which depends upon their industry, and which they may lose by bad conduct?—Yes; as a proof of that, I have made great observation from the beginning until now, and in the two parishes of Midsomer Norton and High Littleton, and I have had assurance of the same from North Bruham, at a distance—out of 250 tenants, not all my own, but about half of them my own, in these parishes, not one of them has been convicted of crime in the twelve or thirteen years; not the father of a family, not the tenant himself. I do not mean to say that his boys may not have committed an offence.

“Mr. Ferrand:—Are there many beer-shops in the neighbourhood?—A great many. Do the occupiers of this land frequent them?—Not so much as they did; all the labourers were taken in, and there will be, of course, as there are among all masses, bad characters, but those bad characters have never been convicted of crime; they know they would lose their land if they were.

“Chairman:—Is it found that the possessing the allotments induces them to go to cultivate them instead of going to the beer-shop?—Yes, in many cases.

“They usually cultivated them in the evening, the time when the beer-shops are most frequented?—Yes, the head of the family; the women and children are out weeding and hoeing and keeping them clean in the day-time.”—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 18, 19.

Starting from the same point, but letting in other important side-lights, we have the following passages in the evidence of Mr. J. Brooks, of Hinckley, in Leicestershire:—

“Chairman:—Can you state generally, from your knowledge of the working classes, what are the effects of the allotments on the moral character of the people?—I should say, decidedly good; an individual that I know myself, the first time that I spoke to him was when he was in a state of intoxication, and that man has become a sober man from his allotment. His wife, before I came up, thanked me very much; she was so glad because her husband had become acquainted with me; she said he had left off drinking and abusing her and her children; she said, that if he only kept sober, and she hoped he would (and I have heard since that he has kept sober), they should do tolerably well.

“Do you conceive that the interest they have in this land produces greater contentment on their part?—It does; it leads them to turn their attention from politics, to things which benefit themselves, and are likely to benefit society, such as to keep the peace, and do good in every possible way they can.

“Mr. Wortley:—Do any of them keep pigs?—Very few.

“Chairman:—Do you conceive that the tenancy of a bit of land tends to produce in the mind of the operative who holds it an increased feeling for the rights of property?—Decidedly so; before, the greater part of

the people had sympathy with an individual who broke the laws; they felt sorry for him, and felt as if he was wronged; but now the case of those individuals is very different; if anything happens to their crops, or an individual robs them, they feel that there is some injury done to them, and that, if it were not for the laws the property they have laboured hard for would not be secure.

"Have you observed, practically, instances of that feeling?—I have, many.

"Will you state any that you recollect?—There was one particular court, where many men of bad character resided, and when the introduction of the new police was first talked about in the country, it met their disapprobation. I spoke to them, and told them the police were not sent to interfere with those who were in favour of keeping the laws, but with bad men, who went about and wished to injure the property of others, and that if it were not for those men our lives would not be secure; but they said—'No, we have nothing to lose: what do we care about whose property is robbed?—they cannot rob us; and as for knocking us down, if they do, we will knock them down in return,'—but as soon as ever they had a prospect of having land, many of those individuals ceased to have any sympathy with such persons.

"Mr. Wortley:—You say that the gardens are about half a mile distant from the residences of the people; are they liable to depredation at all?—I do not think they are; most of the individuals who have land now act, in a certain sense, as policemen: in fact, every man is the guardian of his neighbour's property; a man who would rob the gardens of the tenants, would be scouted from society."—*Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 84, 85.

A little now might enable the people to bear their trials: a little more might put them in the way of being prosperous and happy. Will that little be denied them? We believe not. The whole tone and character of the parliamentary proceedings make against it. We hope to see it "merry England" again, though there may be no more fields reeking with the conflicts of the Roses, nor outlaws' bows ringing in the moonlight glades of Sherwood.

Mr. James Orange bears testimony to the improved habits produced by the allotment system, though his statements are not so full and explicit as we could desire. He has, however, we believe, *written* a great deal upon the subject; and if so, the defects of his evidence may be supplied from his writings:—

"Chairman:—Can you state that their general behaviour and conduct has improved?—It has improved very considerably; so much so, that those parties concerning whom it was said, when I first attempted to introduce the system in that neighbourhood, that they would not cultivate the ground if they got it, are changed, so that they have the grant of an additional twenty acres; and in another parish, where the inhabitants were generally given to the discussion of political subjects, and on the sab-



bath-day their duties were attended to very irregularly, after the system was introduced, the rector of the parish came forward and granted seventeen acres and a half last year. This was divided into allotments; and this so won on the affection of the people towards their rector, that the church is very well filled, which used to be nearly empty; that, without any intimation they should go to church, was the effect on their minds through the kindness of the rector to them."—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 93.

We have looked into the statements of the two clergymen examined by the committee, with a view to learn what was *their* impression of the moral operation of the allotment-system upon their parishioners; but one of them, the Rev. J. M. Maxfield, does not appear to have been examined upon this subject at all; and the other, the Rev. S. Demainbray, gives his evidence in a manner which is much more novel and remarkable than satisfactory:—

“Chairman:—Will you state a little more in detail what you think has been the result of the allotment-system upon the moral condition of your parishioners?—I flatter myself that it has improved their attendance at church, and everything of that kind in the best way.”—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 12.

This is a strange mode of entering into details. “Everything of that kind in the best way!” Now the only “thing of that kind” (going to church) we can think of is, going to chapel. Do they do that “in the best way?” And does their clergyman praise them for it? We are at a loss. But we confess we did wish and expect to hear something more of the parish clergyman’s own impression of the effect thus produced upon the minds and manners of his people.

Enough, however, has been brought forward to show that the general effects of the allotment-system are favourable to the social and domestic conduct of those on whom it is tried. We will consider that point as settled, and pass on to two other points of great interest and importance—the first, the possibility of a labourer’s finding leisure for the cultivation of his allotment; the second, the proportion of profit derivable from it. On the former subject, this is the testimony of Mr. H. Martin:—

“Chairman:—Has it been found that the allotment-system has interfered with the usual labour of the agricultural workman?—Not at all; so far from that, during the last year the three persons in Hadlow who had the best allotments, and obtained the best prizes, were considered the three best workmen; in fact, the master who employed them for several years got up at the meeting, and said, ‘I am very happy to state that those three persons who have had the three best allotments, and have

obtained the three best prizes, are my three best workmen.' "—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 2.

The following is the evidence of Mr. J. Hulbert:—

"Chairman:—You consider there is nothing in the hand-loom weavers to prevent their cultivating their land properly?—No.

"What portion of time can a hand-loom weaver in employment devote to the cultivation of land?—If they were fully employed they would have an hour or two in the morning, and two or three hours at night, to employ themselves on the ground; but I am sorry to say they are very ill employed just now, and I fear they will not be better at present.

"What time would those who are partially employed have?—Three or four days in a week."—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 31.

We give, in the last place, the testimony of Mr. James Orange:—

"Chairman:—Can you state generally how much leisure time the operatives of those districts have for cultivating a garden allotment?—Quite sufficient to cultivate it in the highest style perfectly; I consider that any man can cultivate a rood of land within the time he could devote to the object of cultivation, even in his leisure hours; he could do considerably more.

"Are they in the habit of going to their garden, if it is near, in their dinner hour?—Yes, and generally in the morning, and after work at night.

"Does that have the effect of refreshing their spirits and invigorating their frame, and preparing them for their work?—Yes, it does." &c.—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 93.

The profits of allotments cannot be expected to be in all places quite the same. The general average profit of the allotments throughout the county of Kent is stated to be about £4. In East Somerset it averages about £5 on the quarter of an acre. At Rothley, in Leicestershire, the average is found to be the same. Mr. Orange, "not speaking of money value," estimates the produce of the allotment at thirteen weeks in time, which gives £6. 10s. per annum *in money*. In a case taken at hazard by Mr. Stansfield (in Gloucestershire), the tenant had sold £1. 14s. 6d. worth of produce, and had got all the vegetables he used for his family, except a sack of potatoes, during the year.

To these facts, we may add the statement of Charles Noel, Esq., of Kirkby Mallory, Leicestershire respecting the allotments on Lady Byron's property, at Newbold Verdun. Each of these is one-fifth of an acre, and the average profit upon each, when seed and manure, rent and rates, are deducted, is estimated at £6. 15s.—a large average, and indicative of an improved sys-

tem of cultivation, for in this case it is not attributable to any superiority in the soil.

These profits will only seem insignificant to us, when we forget the actual state and the humble wishes of the poor. What will not even a *loan* of £2, £3, or £5, do to serve, and often to save them! How much greater then must be the benefit, when the addition thus obtained is clearly *their own*, the produce of time during which they would have made nothing, or perhaps have been tempted to throw away more or less of their earnings in vicious pursuits and pleasures! Such an addition will often be the relief of the entire year, the furnisher of the cottage, the trimmer of the light, the brightener of the hearth, the coverer of the bed, the spreader of the board, the smotherer of the brow, and, more and better than all, the cheerer of the heart. These are blessings in themselves, and blessings in their issues. Would you make the throne firm? Make the cottage happy.

But we are well assured, that, though the average profit made on the allotment is such as to render it well worthy of the labourer's attention, yet there are other sources of profit which may be connected with it, and which may much enlarge its power of contributing to his comfort and happiness. We may passingly advert (for we must do little more) to three of these sources of collateral profit. The first of these is the rearing of flowers; the second is the keeping of a pig; the third, the management of a bee-hive. The rearing of flowers is a taste which can scarcely be too much encouraged among the people. It is one of the happiest competitions that can take place between man and man. It gives scope and field to that love of distinction which exists in our common nature, and which will so often prompt to mischief, when it can find no object of pure ambition and indulgence. Such rivalries only contribute to the deepest peace of the community. The grower of a prize ranunculus will have nothing to do with an insurrection, but we do not think he would be found among the last to join in resisting any attempt at an invasion. The keeping of pigs is already (in the county of Kent and elsewhere) largely connected with the working of the allotment system; and it must obviously contribute greatly to raise the profits of the labourer, and to multiply the comforts of his home. We look, too, to the introduction of the system in the neighbourhood of our great towns and cities, for the reformation of a great abuse, which has long had a baneful influence upon private and public health. We allude to the keeping of pigs in towns. Even where the bye-laws of the place expressly prohibit this, and where the prohibition is en-



forced by heavy fines, it is found impossible to put the practice down. The expected profit counterbalances the fear of discovery; the pig-keeper has often the connivance and sympathy of his neighbours, and the informer knows he must encounter their hatred. The pig is secreted (as far as the law is concerned) with impunity, but sometimes under circumstances which prove fatal to the poor animal itself, and sometimes in situations where it must be instrumental to the production and propagation of disease in the neighbourhood. We have no hesitation in saying, that we have *known* cases in which the vicinity and the state of the pig-stye was the sole apparent cause of the distemper which appeared among its human neighbours. Could the benefit be gained without the danger—could the pig be transferred from the town to the allotment, and there have the advantage of free and fresh air, and be fed in part from the spare produce of the garden, we think that the labourer's profit would be greater and less precarious, and that one cause of distemperring influences, and that no inconsiderable one, would be gradually removed from the murky hiding-place of our towns. The keeping of bees should seem to require but little to be said in its favour; yet while we know of few good things more attainable, we know of few more unaccountably neglected. We can scarcely conceive of a more beautiful or delightful care. Far from being costly or troublesome, after the first little outlay, all goes on without expense or labour. The bee costs nothing. It finds its food where no other creature can find it. And what a delicate and delicious addition does the produce of this little insect make to the labourer's table! We do not envy the man who has no relish for a honeycomb. And it is a luxury which the poor man may always have at his command. It must be a small allotment indeed that can find no room for a stand of bees; and we believe it is not yet understood how very productive, with a little knowledge and care, the management of bees may be made by the labourer's family.

We have already exceeded our bounds; but must refer to one subject more. The reclaiming of waste lands by the industry of the poor, and the effects of this change in relieving the burthens of the parish, have ceased to be matters of mere speculation, and are now to be calmly numbered among the facts of experience. We refer our readers to the valuable evidence of Mr. J. Watkinson, on the cultivation of portions of Trafford Moss by the paupers of the Chorlton Union; but we prefer giving, in this place, the following extracts from the report of Charles Mott, Esq., to the Poor-Law Commissioners. It opens prospects which may relieve the apprehensions of the



alarmist, while they gladden the hearts of the philanthropist and the patriot.

“On the 12th of August I accompanied the guardians on their annual visit to the land and crops, and it was truly gratifying to contemplate that the labour of the able-bodied applicants for relief in this well-conducted union had been turned to profitable account; that the land then before us, and which two years since was a bog not worth 1s. an acre, was covered with crops of wheat, potatoes, and turnips, which, as stated by the *Liverpool Times*, were not to be surpassed in the best managed farms in the best cultivated county in England.

“That Mr. Latham has underrated the advantages of the experiment, in a pecuniary point of view, may be seen by the following account, which exhibits a fair statement, or balance sheet of the transaction, to the date of the annual visit in August:—

“MOSS-LABOUR ACCOUNT, CHORLTON UNION.

| Dr. 1842.—Midsummer.                                                                                          |  | £.                   | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|----------------------|----|----|
| To amount paid for iron railways, trucks, shovels, barrows, hoes, and other implements still in use . . . . . |  | 94                   | 14 | 6  |
| To amount paid for manure and seeds . . . . .                                                                 |  | 217                  | 7  | 7  |
| To amount paid for paupers' labour, and including foreman's wages . . . . .                                   |  | 629                  | 6  | 3  |
| To amount of incidental charges, not included in the above . . . . .                                          |  | 13                   | 19 | 8  |
|                                                                                                               |  | <hr/> £955 8 0 <hr/> |    |    |
| Cr. 1842.—Midsummer.                                                                                          |  |                      |    |    |
| By cash already received for produce . . . . .                                                                |  | 64                   | 0  | 0  |
| By value of present crop . . . . .                                                                            |  | 160                  | 0  | 0  |
| By present value of stock of railways, barrows, and implements . . . . .                                      |  | 80                   | 0  | 0  |
| By $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres of reclaimed land, worth £50 per acre . . . . .                                       |  | 475                  | 0  | 0  |
| By balance . . . . .                                                                                          |  | 176                  | 8  | 0  |
|                                                                                                               |  | <hr/> £955 8 0 <hr/> |    |    |
| Dr. To balance . . . . .                                                                                      |  | £176                 | 8  | 0  |

“It will thus be seen, from the best calculation that can be made, that if the moss-labour account had been then closed, the whole balance of outlay, for which there is no apparent return, would be £176. 8s. only, and for this occasional work has been afforded to 385 able-bodied paupers during a period of a year and three-quarters, who must otherwise have been relieved at an enormously increased cost, without requiring labour in return, to say nothing of the 135 positive refusals to work, and the hundreds of idle persons who have been deterred from applying by the knowledge that work would be offered; many of whom

would have otherwise been fixed upon the Union perhaps as permanent paupers.

“Mr. Latham is justified by the effects of the commercial pressure in other manufacturing Unions, in stating that but for this wholesome test, the rates of the Chorlton Union would have doubled; for we know, as Mr. Latham says, ‘that it is not a consideration as to those paupers who come to work, or those who refuse work;’ but it is from the knowledge ‘that there is work to offer, regular organised and constant work, that deters the idle and worthless from applying for relief.’

“The success of the Chorlton Union, with reference to the experiment of employing the able-bodied paupers in cultivating waste land, is not only valuable from the satisfactory result as a test of destitution, but it is doubly valuable as an example of what may be done in a district beset with difficulties, by a Board of Guardians composed of respectable gentlemen, who discard all private or political feelings, and by their united efforts support at the same time the interests of the poor and the rate-payers of the Union generally.

“The success of this experiment in the manufacturing district is of far greater value, and of infinitely more importance, than it may at first appear to lay claim to.

“Lancashire is fast increasing in population, and already contains a larger number of inhabitants than Middlesex, including London and Westminster. The several Lancashire Unions are therefore necessarily densely peopled, chiefly by the working classes; and the usual sources of available employment in other parts of England, such as stone-breaking, repairing the roads, &c., are totally inadequate, in cases of pressure, to meet the demands of the unemployed masses in this astounding district.

“The manufacturing districts in the North of England abound with moss, and other waste lands, capable of affording employment to an unlimited extent.

“It cannot be said that the Chorlton Union possesses any superior local advantages either as to the situation or quality of the land.

“There is scarcely a Union in Lancashire that could not obtain a quantity of land of the same character and quality, within an equally convenient distance for the paupers of their own Union.

“The experiment of the Chorlton Union shows, that even in a pecuniary point of view, such lands may be reclaimed and cultivated without loss.

“The chief article required is marl, which can generally be obtained within a short distance.

“It requires no establishment of horses and carts, or farm buildings.

“The marl is conveyed by a cheap iron railway, on trucks adapted for the purpose, and the crops are sold standing on the ground.

“Most attempts to cultivate land by pauper labour have failed of producing any return.

“The heavy rents and other charges, the want of sufficient interest in conducting the labour, and other causes which need not be particu-

larized, have deterred Guardians from entering upon this source of employment. In reclaiming and cultivating moss and other waste lands, all these obstacles are removed. You convert waste and otherwise worthless land into valuable producing property, worth, probably, £50 per acre, and obtain at the same time the important desideratum, viz., unlimited employment for any number of labourers, against whom the customary labour market may be closed by any sudden or severe pressure.

"The cultivation of moss land has also this peculiar advantage; it affords employment requiring different degrees of strength and skill, suitable to the capabilities of the various applicants for relief in the manufacturing Unions. Those who are deficient in strength to execute the heavy work, can fill a truck or wheel a barrow, use a hoe or spread manure.

"I rejoice to say, that the intelligent Board of Guardians of the Manchester Union has already determined to adopt this source of employment, upon a scale suitable to the extent of that important Union.

"I hail this determination on the part of the Manchester Guardians as a valuable and timely movement in furtherance of the establishment of this most advantageous source of employment for the numerous able-bodied paupers in the manufacturing districts."

It is a peculiar recommendation of the allotment-system, that it admits of the co-operation of the whole family of the labourer. The wife and children may be employed in various ways on the ground, at times when they could be doing nothing else; and thus early industry may be associated with recollections of pleasure, and the improvement of health and strength combined with the acquisition of practical knowledge. At hours, when they would otherwise have been running wild upon the streets, they may be taken to the allotment, and there made useful and happy; and the occupations there assigned them are such as make it *a school in the open air*, for the formation of characters more fitted for the future requirements of their condition. Such scenes need not be seen with the visioned eye of a prophet, to make them teem with promises, not less solid than delightful; and it is in these and similar scenes, we are thoroughly convinced, that we must strive to remould a noble peasantry of freemen; to thin the throngs of the prison and the workhouse; and to temper down the restless pulse of our brilliant national decline into that calm and regular, yet vigorous flow, which speaks, as nothing else *can*, of health and happiness at the heart.

We say nothing here in praise of manual labour. We reverently remember, that the lofty prose-harps of Channing and Carlyle have lately been touched in solemn unison upon that

theme, and have poured their rich and inward-deepening melodies into the ears and hearts of those who think and feel for their world. We do not, therefore, enter upon this subject at present; but we entreat of those who can recal those glorious passages, to remember how much *the spirit* of them applies to the system which has suggested these remarks, and how much may be expected from the coming of a day, when the labourer shall walk no longer as a stranger over his world, and the poor man's garden shall soften the way to his grave.

We must here make an end, for we cannot find one. The subject would lead us further than we think it necessary, at present, to go. We trust what we *have* written to fulfil its ministry, believing that every attempt which is earnestly made to spread the knowledge of a simple and widely-practicable means of good, must, in these times, be unfortunate indeed, if it awakens no new sympathies, or freshens no old ones. Once more, with a trembling but not a failing heart, we cast our mite into the treasury; with a blessing upon it, it may do the work of a talent.

J. J.



## ART. IV.—SACRED MUSIC.

1. *Holy Songs, and Musical Prayers, composed or adapted ; and Harmonized for four voices, with Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Organ.* By J. R. Ogden. Edited by James Martineau. J. A. Novello. London.
2. *Church Music ; A Sermon on the Antiquity, Excellence and propriety of the general adoption of the Legitimate Music of the Christian Church.* By Thomas Cromwell, M.A., F.S.A. London : J. Green. 1843.

WE hail the appearance of any work, of which the object is to improve the Psalmody, in our places of worship. This is so delightful a part of divine service, that it is surprising, and lamentable, that so little attention has been paid to it. This is to be attributed, partly, to the general deficiency, or decline of musical taste and science in this country. A century or two ago music was much more cultivated ; the number of those was considerable who could read plain musical composition, at first sight. In ordinary society, singing in parts was not unusual, and a fine was often imposed at the social board, upon those who were incapable of contributing to the common stock of amusement. Now, it is rare to meet with a person so qualified. From this fact it may be inferred, that it is not so much that we are an unmusical people, as that the cultivation of this taste has declined amongst us since the Reformation. In our Cathedrals, indeed, sacred music has in some degree been preserved as an inheritance from the Catholics, and by the aid of endowments, left for that purpose. But even there, it is not cherished as it was intended, and as it ought to be. In many instances the funds have been embezzled, and the music and the choristers are neglected. And how lame and miserable is the Psalmody in most of our country churches and meeting-houses. How few in our congregations ever join in the singing, or would improve the harmony if they did. To our ear, nothing is more animating, or affecting, than to hear a whole assembly unite in a Psalm of praise. How much more so would it be, if a general cultivation of musical science gave to the public the additional advantages of correctness and taste ! We do not mean that the bulk of the population can ever become proficient in this art, but that there may, and should, be such a diffusion of musical knowledge and feeling, as to prevent them from violating the

elementary rules of music, which is so continually done. We are persuaded that public worship would then become more gratifying to those who attend; and it would increase the number of attendants of that class, who by other means are seldom brought within the walls of a sanctuary. The Germans are much more advanced in musical science, and practice, than we are. We remember hearing an officer who had served in the Peninsula describe the sublime effect produced by the united voices of the German legion, as they chaunted their national hymns, while marching in that beautiful country, in the dawn of a Summer's morning; and we ourselves recollect the solemn effects of a simple melody, from the voices of the many thousand children who annually sing in St. Paul's Cathedral. For these reasons we have observed with pleasure the efforts which are now making, to render the art of singing popular in this country. We are not sanguine as to the result: but let the experiment be fully tried. If it succeed, (which it *must* do to some extent,) it will open a new source of amusement and pleasure to the people, and contribute to the advancement of religion and morality. We wish, therefore, success to the work before us.

It opens with an elaborate preface by the Editor, written with more than ordinary skill, and much religious fervour: but we suspect with more zeal than acquaintance with the difficulties attending his proposed reformation in Psalmody. We gather this from the following remark in the preface:—

“I have met with many productions belonging to the highest order of sacred poetry, for which no suitable musical expression could be found throughout the usual range of Psalmody. The traditional limitation of Protestant congregational singing to three or four metres, has exercised a more successful restraint on the music than on the poetry of the Church; and a number of the finest hymns in the language must either be excluded from our collections, or be admitted with the certainty of remaining unused. Not content with either dilemma, I submitted my difficulty to a friend, possessed in a high degree of knowledge, to find the music that was wanted, if it already existed, and the genius to produce it, if it did not.”

The present volume is accordingly the result of the labours of Mr. Ogden, who has either adapted or composed the music. The Editor is not aware of the difficulties which he has imposed upon his friend, in calling upon him to append notes to many of the hymns in this collection, for it appears they were “chosen out of the general mass, avowedly for the peculiarity they possess, in differing so much from the metres in common use.” Had the Editor been a composer, he would have known that

all music which is gratifying to the ear, is governed by certain laws in its movement, to which musical poetry must conform, not only in rhythm but in the very formation of the words. For instance, the word "apt" (see page 16,) is placed under a long note, when it requires a short one. It would be as difficult to set some poems to music, as a catalogue of household furniture; and of this complexion are some of the "holy songs" in the present work. The great reason why Dr. Crotch's *Palastine*, of which the words were furnished by Bishop Heber, has never made its way in the musical world, is the misapprehension of the composer, that melodious music could be put to poetry of that cast. It is impossible to set to music "Hammer and Chisel," which expression occurs in that work. Neither is it possible to deal with the hymn, page 22, in the volume before us, by the same pious and learned bishop. Poets often know very little of musical phraseology. They are not aware that a strain of music is so constructed that it naturally divides into aliquot parts. The bars consist of even numbers, as 2, 4, 6, 8, 12; and musical ideas never flow in bars of the odd numbers, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11; and, unless the words, and the sense of the words, move in the same way, the effect is bad, and often ridiculous. In page 17, the unfinished sentence, "Remit all our" is repeated three times before the important word "offences" is given. It follows then, that the composer, to conform to this law, and not break in upon the melody he has formed in his mind, is compelled to repeat certain words in the verse, producing a style of music, wholly unsuited to congregational singing. As far as practicable, Mr. Ogden has done justice to the poems entrusted to him. Some of the melodies exhibit a deep feeling, and are accompanied with an impressive harmony, deviating from the common track of modulation, usually found in Psalmody, and managed with a grace and ease highly creditable to the composer. We particularly admire the airs, in pp. 3, 4, 8, 13, 40.

Some few inaccuracies in accentuation occur; and others, in the length of the strains, may be laid to the charge of the words, for which the taste of the author fully compensates. The book is handsomely printed, and, as we learn from the preface, it "has given great pleasure to the circle of the author's friends, though its plan and performance have deviated so much in sentiment and metre, from the rigour of the ecclesiastical style," we hope, and believe, that the religious public will receive the same pleasure, and form the same favourable opinion of it.

Mr. Cromwell's Sermon is an animated and interesting discourse upon Sacred Music. The author is, perhaps, an enthusiast; but, without some enthusiasm, no great reforms have ever been achieved. Still we cannot help thinking that he has rather overrated the importance of music in our religious service. True it is that the music of the Jewish tabernacle and temple was splendid and imposing; so also in the Roman Catholic churches; but it was the nature and design of these forms of worship to impress the senses. To convince the reason and enlighten the judgment, was not the direct object. There should be a *harmony* in all these things. A pure and plain faith and worship requires grave and simple music. As to chaunting in our old presbyterian meeting-houses, we confess it does not suit our taste. We do not expect much good from it. When we recollect the design, and the results upon the public mind, of a gorgeous external service, our feeling is, "Touch not the unclean thing." Be as plain and unpretending as possible. Be satisfied with simple poetry, and easy, intelligible, psalm tunes. By aspiring too much, you will lose your proper character and charm. For this reason we do not hear with pleasure of the introduction into some of our places of worship of chants, fonts, and liturgies. It is an assimilation to the Church by which the dissenters will be the greatest losers. It is the construction of a bridge by which the nonconformist may walk over to the church, as well as the churchman to the chapel. If the difference between the two be reduced merely to a few abstract and mysterious points of speculation, the dissenters, we suspect, will be in danger. Our author is of a different opinion, which he supports with much reading, and plausible, if not sound, argument. Speaking of the improvement of church-music, he says, p. 23—

"The Establishment has fallen heartily to this work; and much of that warmer devotional feeling which has of late manifested itself in the ordinary attendants upon its services, is, no doubt, the result. Let every sect, I would say, that calls itself Christian, (and in the exact degree that it regards itself as *par excellence* Christian,) imitate the example. I should anticipate from it more good to the genuine cause of Christ, and even more converts (should it seek them) to its particular views, than from enlarging upon doctrinal differences while the world lasts."

The next time we visit the metropolis we shall certainly step down to the chapel at Newington to hear the chaunting, and to observe how the choir goes on. If such a style of music as the author recommends is to be introduced into our service, how is it to be supported? Where is the musical talent and taste to be found? However, if not our ear, we shall have our eye



upon the Newington performers; and if there, and at a few of our wealthy cathedral presbyterian chapels at Liverpool and Manchester, the experiments should succeed, we shall modify our opinions, and will write again upon the subject.

There are some very interesting passages in this Sermon. We give one of them:—

“I need hardly remark that Church Music was much cultivated through that series of ages during which all the Western Christians, at least, acknowledged the supremacy of the See of Rome. And I would by no means conceal the fact that, at various periods, it was greatly *vitiating* under Romish dictation and guidance. But it would be unjust not to remember that Rome, in this particular, repeatedly *reformed herself*; especially in the seventh century, under the Pontificate of Gregory, surnamed the Great, and in the sixteenth, after the holding of the Council of Trent. Worthy is it of observation that these reforms were, to a great extent, restorations of the simpler and graver melodies adopted for worship by the primitive Christian Churches, as that those melodies themselves, there is reason to believe, were derived from the Hebrew Temple services,—the latter conclusion being the result of the consideration that the first Christians were Hebrews, and that to the Temple we must look as the only probable source of that music of theirs which was so effective an aid to the conversion of Pagan idolaters. Highly interesting is the reflection which we may thence indulge that various noble compositions received from the Primitive, through the Romish, by the Christian Church universal, are, for substance, the same with those employed by the Hebrews in their public worship from immemorial times.”—p. 12.

The author's style, though earnest and eloquent, is not always so smooth and harmonious as we should have supposed his musical ear would have compelled him to form. Thus:—

“Not only is the Temple built, but ministers and officers have been provided for its services *and sustentation* upon a scale truly national, and worthy of *the worship by a people of their God*.”—p. 4.

Again:—

“—if joined with but fragmentary remembrances:”

Try to sing or chaunt these words: it is impossible. Read them aloud: it is a mouthful of granite.

G. & B.

## ART. V.—THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

*The Westminster Assembly of Divines. The Old Paths: a Discourse on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Meeting of the Westminster Divines.* By J. Scott Porter. London: J. Green.

*Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters.* Art. *The Westminster Assembly of Divines.* Boston: W. Crosby. London: J. Green.

THE 1st of July 1843, was the two hundredth anniversary of the meeting of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. This was very appropriately made the occasion of the instructive sermon by Mr. Porter, and the clear and pithy article in the Boston Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters, edited by Mr. Gannett, which we have placed at the head of this notice.

“The occasion which caused the Westminster Creed-books to be framed is well known to the reader of history. It is scarcely necessary to remind you that the government of King Charles I. in the affairs both of church and state, as managed during the first fifteen years of his reign, produced the deepest dissatisfaction throughout the whole of England. The undoubted rights of the subject and the essential privileges of Parliament, though confirmed by an Act called the Petition of Right, to which the king had himself given the Royal Assent, were not only disregarded, but treated with contempt; and instead of a farther reform in the church, of which many of the most worthy and conscientious of the King’s Protestant subjects were desirous, new and absurd ceremonies, akin to those of the Roman church, were introduced and enforced without any legal sanction: an indecent disrespect for the sanctity of the Lord’s Day was not only manifested by the court itself, but was even required to be recommended from their pulpits by the clergy throughout the kingdom, who were enjoined to read to their people, in the course of Divine Service, a book set forth by royal authority, permitting and encouraging the practice of Sunday sports. And in the High Commission Court, and the Court of Star Chamber, whose proceedings were governed by no law, the most grievous penalties were inflicted upon those persons, whether clergy or laity, who disused or discountenanced these frivolous, profane, and superstitious observances, or who presumed in any respect to oppose the rapid strides which the King was making towards absolute power. In consequence of these proceedings, the whole kingdom was thrown into a ferment: and at length the partisans of prerogative and the opponents of the king’s measures, began to look to a civil war as no improbable result. Under these circumstances, the state of the King’s affairs made it necessary

for him to summon a meeting of Parliament in the year 1640 : and as it was the settled wish of the great bulk of the nation that the powers vested in the legislature for the redress of grievances should be wielded by vigorous and determined hands, and as the Presbyterian Puritans, who were utterly opposed to the late measures both in church and state, and had largely experienced the King's severity, were justly looked upon as men who would be staunch in resistance to court influence and the power of prerogative, a great many of the adherents of that party were returned as members of the House of Commons. When, at last, a war actually broke out between the King and the Parliament, those members who were favourable to the royal cause withdrew, leaving their seats vacant ; and by this hasty secession they threw the whole power of both Houses into the hands of the Presbyterians. The consequences were fatal to the King, and fatal to the hierarchy ; but the hierarchy was the first to encounter its doom.

“ On the 12th of June 1643, the two Houses agreed to an Ordinance, so they called those Acts of theirs to which they pretended to give the force of law without the royal assent, declaring ‘ that Church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers depending upon the hierarchy, is evil, justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, and a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion,’—and decreeing that the same should ‘ be taken away, and that such a government should be settled in the church, as might be most agreeable to God's Holy Word, most apt to preserve the peace of the church at home, and to produce a nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad ;’ and in conclusion, summoning a certain number of Divines by name, who, together with certain members of Parliament, should meet as an Assembly for the purpose of giving their advice on this subject in reply to such questions as should be put to them by either House of Parliament. This was the famous Westminster Assembly. It met at the time appointed, and in process of time drew up and presented to Parliament as its humble advice, the works which we are now considering.”—*Porter's Sermon*, p. 9.

The Assembly was constituted of “one hundred and twenty-one divines and of thirty laymen, viz., two members of the House of Lords, and twenty of the Commons. All the members were chosen by Parliament, one, or two, being for each shire in the Island ; and the design was, that the great Protestant parties should be represented. Four Bishops of the English Church were called, but they refused to sit in the Assembly, because it neither had the sanction of the King, nor was convened by the authority of the clergy. Some of the Episcopal clergy came, but soon left, with the exception of Dr. Featley, who remained as a spy, and being detected in communicating information to the King, contrary to his obligation, was

imprisoned. Thus the Assembly was composed of Presbyterians, who maintained the divine right of their mode of discipline, and who prevailed greatly by numbers, of a few Erastians, who maintained that the civil government might appoint the government of the Church, and of Independents or Congregationalists, who numbered but six.

“An invitation was sent to the New England Colonies, addressed to John Cotton of Boston, to Hooker of Hartford, and Davenport of New Haven, asking the presence and aid of either or all of them in the Assembly. They were divided in opinion as to the expediency of accepting the invitation, and neither of them complied with it. They were afraid of sacrificing their own independency. And here is the place to draw a distinction. The Assembly not only issued their Calvinistic doctrinal formularies, but also set up Presbyterianism as by divine authority the true and the only true mode of government for the Christian Church. Thus they sought to establish a hierarchy in every way as objectionable to the Congregationalists as Prelacy. Presbyterianism was always resolutely opposed by our fathers; they abhorred this portion of the Assembly’s labours, as much as they loved their Catechisms. It was probably from the fear of some such imposition, that the New England clergy had no representative in the Assembly. Some Presbyterians came over here in 1643, and tried to set up their form of government; but the General Court soon ‘put them to the rout.’ No foreign Church out of the Kingdom was represented in the Assembly. The Scots sent ecclesiastical and lay Commissioners, whose ardour and zeal, not to say bigotry, made them very prominent. They were for rooting out of the land every vestige of Romanism and Episcopacy.

“Thus was constituted an Assembly like to no other which has ever been convened in the Christian Church. It was not a convention of the clergy even, for they were not chosen by ecclesiastical authority, nor elected by right of office. They were under the control of Parliament, whose creature and servant the Assembly was. Learned and reverend and godly men no doubt were many of its members, but though they came to deliberate, there is no evidence that any one of them changed his own mind, or the mind of any one of his brethren. In no place does dissension appear more deplorable than where unity is thought to be essential. Before the meeting of the Assembly the King forbade it under a threat of the severest penalty of the law, but he had no power to inflict what he threatened.

“In the Parliamentary Ordinance the object of the Assembly is set forth to be, the removal of the Episcopal institutions, the



reformation of discipline in the Church, and the conformity of its government to the Scriptures and to other Reformed Churches abroad. The Assembly had power from Parliament 'to deliver their advices and opinions touching these matters' to both or either Houses, but were required not to divulge anything. For breaking this command and pledge Dr. Featley was imprisoned. The Ordinance concludes with the following restriction:—"Provided alway that this Ordinance shall not give them, nor shall they in this Assembly assume or exercise, any jurisdiction, power, or authority ecclesiastical, whatsoever, or any other power than is herein particularly expressed."—*Monthly Miscellany* for August, p. 70.

At the first meeting of the Assembly only sixty-nine members appeared, and afterwards there was often a difficulty in collecting a quorum of forty. No doubt it contained many members of profound learning, and great practical wisdom, such as Calamy, Lightfoot, and Gataker, but Enthusiasts abounded, and those of a more comprehensive and catholic spirit were constantly in a minority. An amusing anecdote is told of the celebrated Selden, who was a lay member of the Assembly, like Saul among the Prophets, which does not give a very favourable impression of the extent of learning among the Divines. "Mr. Selden," says Whitelocke, "spake admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning. And sometimes when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, *Perhaps, in your little pocket Bibles, with gilt leaves (which they would often pull out and read), the translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus and thus;* and so would totally silence them." It was lucky that the Parliament did not allow this Synod to do more than counsel and advise,—that their power was not legislative,—that their decrees required the confirmation of the two Houses. "The Presbyterians," as Baxter observes, "drew too near to the way of Prelacy by grasping at a kind of secular power, not using it themselves, but binding the magistrate to confiscate or imprison men merely because they were excommunicated." "I disliked also," he continues, "some of the Presbyterians that they were not tender enough to dissenting brethren, but too much against liberty of Conscience, as others were too much for it, and thought to do by votes and numbers what should have been done by love and reason." The Independents, on the other hand, few as they were, pleaded for such a Toleration as would include at least all those who held what were regarded as the doctrines of orthodox Protestantism. Even this amount of liberality sounded like horrid blasphemy in the ears of the

Presbyterian majority. "Toleration," cried out one of their number, "will make the kingdom a chaos, a Babel, another Amsterdam, a Sodom, an Egypt, a Babylon; Toleration is the grand work of the devil, his masterpiece and chief engine to uphold his tottering kingdom: it is the most compendious, ready, sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evils." The whole body of them some time later joined in a protest against what they called the great Diana of the Independents,—Toleration. "We detest and abhor," said these intolerants, "this much endeavoured Toleration. Our bowels are stirred within us, and we could even drown ourselves in tears when we call to mind how long and sharp a travail this kingdom hath been in for many years together to bring forth that blessed fruit of a pure and perfect reformation; and now at last, and after all our pangs, and dolours, and expectations, this real and thorough reformation is in danger of being strangled in the birth by a lawless Toleration, that strives to be brought forth before it."—See *Pictorial History of England*, vol. iii. p. 312.

Some of the best men of that day, or of any day, were not Members of that Assembly. The principal among these absent ones are thus eloquently enumerated by Mr. Porter:—

"JEREMY TAYLOR was not in the Assembly, but was lying concealed in retirement, enjoying, by the influence of some who loved his virtues, an exemption, by connivance, from the persecution to which he was liable, on account of his continuing to use the Book of Common Prayer at a time when the reading of it was forbidden, even in family worship; and was meditating '*The Liberty of Prophecy*,' which has so often put to flight the arguments of the exclusionist and the bigot. CHILLINGWORTH, the illustrious defender of the Reformation, the author of that great work, '*The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation*,' was not among them; but was, with the other Royalists, besieged by the forces of the Parliament in the Castle of Arundel, and when it was yielded up, was kept a prisoner in the Town of Chichester till he died. And when he died, Cheynel, one of the members of this Assembly, pronounced over his remains a virulent invective, by way of funeral oration, and concluded his harangue by throwing into the grave that illustrious work, calling it a 'cursed book,' and commanding it to rot with its author in the place of corruption!\*" BAXTER was not among

\* "The Doctor would have reasoned him out of some of his principles, but could not prevail, and therefore at his interment, after a reflecting speech upon his character, threw his book, entitled '*The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation*,' into the grave, saying, 'Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which has seduced so many precious souls!—earth to earth, dust to dust!—get thee into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author, and see corruption!'"—See *Neale*, vol. iii. page 83. Cheynel also published a pamphlet entitled '*Chillingworthi Novissima*, or the Sickness, Heresy, Death, and Burial of William Chillingworth,' which Bishop

them, though he was a Presbyterian like themselves, yet opposed to their narrow views of theological doctrine, and an advocate for the most comprehensive principles of church union, consistent with a nominal adherence to human standards of authority.\* JOHN MILTON was not in that Assembly, but was engaged in the obscure toils of a laborious profession, only occasionally sending forth his tracts,—then disregarded, now immortal,†—in opposition to the exclusive spirit of the times; and planning that illustrious '*Treatise on the Christian Doctrine*,' which is, beyond a doubt, the most wonderful theological work of that age. JOHN BIDDLE, not less learned, far more bold and zealous than his great contemporary, was lingering in a prison into which he had been cast for his heterodox opinions, and was now and then brought to the bar of this very Assembly, to be railed at as the vilest of criminals, by men whom he was qualified to instruct, no less in the simple truths than in the mild spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ."

The Assembly sat for nearly six years. The fruits of its labours are the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and the Directory for the public worship of God.

The Directory proposes a scheme of public worship which in the main is that which is used by all Protestant Churches, except the Episcopal. The Confession of Faith, though not designed as a Creed to be subscribed, is still used for that purpose, by most of the Calvinistic Churches of Scotland, Ireland, and America. In England it never had authority as a Standard of Faith.

Mr. Porter brings together some of the most obnoxious parts of this Confession:—

" 'By the decree of God for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others *foreordained to everlasting death!* These angels and men, thus predestinated and *foreordained*, are particularly and *unchangeably* designed: and their

Warburton calls 'a villanous book:' yet it appears this very man had engaged a physician to attend Chillingworth, and had exerted himself to promote his comfort while in sickness and confinement; whence we have reason to suppose that his natural feelings were humane, but soured and embittered by his religious creed."

\* " 'He (Baxter) proposed to a Committee of the Westminster Divines, the offering to the Parliament the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as the essentials or fundamentals of Christianity, containing all that is necessary to salvation. When they objected that this might be subscribed by a Papist or a Socinian, his answer was, that it was so much the better, and the fitter to be matter of concord.'—*Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter*, 8vo, 1713, p. 121."

† "Among the chief of these may be placed '*Areopagitica*, or Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing,' published in 1644. See also '*Milton's Treatise on Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, showing that it is not lawful for any power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion;' and his '*Treatise on True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration*,' &c. The last essay was not printed till 1673, the year before the author's death; and the '*Treatise on the Christian Doctrine*' was not published till one hundred and fifty years afterwards."

number is so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished.'—*Confession of Faith*, Chap. iii. Sec. 3, 4. \*——

“ ‘*Elect Infants* dying in infancy are regenerated and saved by Christ through the spirit,’ &c. . . . ‘So also are all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word.’ ‘*Others not elected*, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the spirit, yet they never truly come unto Christ, and therefore *cannot be saved*.’—*Confession of Faith*, Chap. x. Sec. 3, 4. \*——

“ ‘Works done by unregenerate men, although for the matter of them, they may be *things which God commands*, and of good use, both to themselves and others; yet, because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith; nor are done in a right manner, according to the word; nor to a right end, the glory of God; they are therefore *sinful, and cannot please God or make a man meet to receive grace from God*. And yet their neglect of them *is more sinful and displeasing unto God*.’—*Confession of Faith*, Chap. xvi. Sec. 7.”



ART. VI.—THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. A Sermon delivered in the Independent Chapel, Gosport. By J. D. Morell, M.A. Jackson and Walford: London. 1843.

THIS is a sermon worthy to be preached in an *Independent* Chapel, in a Chapel where independence of human authority is a sacred principle, and individual conviction revered and obeyed as a religious Duty. Itself one of the most remarkable, it opens by calling attention to "two remarkable signs of the times:—the one is the great division existing amongst the whole mass of those who call themselves Christians; the other is the yearning which, nevertheless, the almost universal Christian heart now betrays after a wider and more embracing Catholicity. Amongst all the din of party strife occasioned by the former of these facts, there is a voice called forth by the latter which is calmly seeking for itself an audience, and earnestly pleading for unity and peace."

The first part of this Sermon is occupied with the inquiry, What is it that constitutes us members of the Catholic Church of Christ?

In reply it is said that, "the grand, the master error which has been wandering like a pestilence throughout the Christian world for centuries past is, that of disregarding those characteristics of mind and heart which alone raise one man above another in the sight of Him who is omniscient; and of making conformity to certain visible rites, or the profession of certain creeds, to be the criterion of true Christianity.

"Purity of heart and life—sincerity of purpose—contrition and humiliation before the all pure and Holy One—confiding faith in God, in his providence, in his promises, and in the Gospel of his Son—*these* are the leading features of the man that is born again to a higher and spiritual life."

It is clear that our Author has seen Channing's Discourse on "The Church," but the truth and force with which its truly Christian sentiments are embraced and re-issued are fresh and original.

"Just in proportion as I am drawn farther from all that is sinful and grovelling—just in proportion as I have a sympathy with all that is true, and fair, and good, in that proportion is my union with the whole spiritual Church of Christ more perfect; and *that* is to me therefore the best form of Christian fellowship which best enables me to conquer myself, to rise above the world, and to win Christ. One perhaps can

pray best when his devotion is assisted by a form on which the eye can rest; another feels that he is brought nearer the eternal throne when the heart is pouring out its feelings and desires in such language as appears at the moment to be their most appropriate embodying; and a third, perhaps, sits in the stillness of deep and unutterable devotion—devotion which he has little experienced who would ridicule a silence which may speak to the true heart as eloquently as the most fervid utterance of the lips. Piety though, it is true, a tender plant, has yet been enabled more or less to rear its head with unostentatious loveliness in almost every section of the visible church. \*—

“ In the name, then, of the God of truth, what is religion? Is it to have a soul imbued with divine love, or is it to pace the circle of an outward ritual, and cast beyond the pale of salvation all those who may not perpetually go round with us in the same track? Let the man who takes his religion pure from the word of God judge which is the most acceptable in the sight of heaven.”

The next inquiry entered upon is, Whence arises the benefit of the Christian Church as an outward institution? and the conclusion arrived at is, that “ wherever there is *truth* and *love*, there is power; but without them there is no power for good, except such as could be equally exerted by a steam engine, or a brute. It will not do to say, that an unholy man has a valid ministry because he signs a certain confession, has undergone a certain rite, and wears a certain dress. If he proclaims untruth, however canonically, he is valid only for evil. I have no faith in the ecclesiastical alchemy that can transform error into Gospel, and poison into food; neither is it by the machinery, I am bold to say, of any formulary upon earth that we can be lifted up into heaven. Validity, however, he does and ever will possess, who, fraught with truth, and burning with love, proclaims the way of salvation to the sinner, whether in the consecrated sanctuary, or in the market-place, or by the way side.”

The sermon closes with this exhortation:—

“ Cultivate a love for everything that bears the stamp of the true Christian character, the perfect type of which you have in Christ himself. Let no human barriers separate you from a sympathy with all who love Christ in sincerity, and are pursuing in his footsteps the path he has trodden before us. Break asunder the chains that bind your sympathies to one part of the fold of Christ. Throw down the walls which would imprison your better feelings, and prevent them wandering in unfettered liberty throughout the whole Christian world.—Rejoice to think that you can hold fellowship with the wise and the good of every age, of every nation, of every church. Let nothing sever you from the whole family of the faithful who are pursuing their way by different roads to the same heavenly rest.—Pity and forgive their present errors and failings, where it is necessary, thinking how much you daily have to forgive yourselves. Imitate their Christian virtues, lest you fall behind them

in the way; and, forgetting the differences which now exist, think of the kind hand which holds us all in its grasp, and the almighty arm which encircles us all in its vast embrace, though we are all unworthy, and all but too unthankful."

Strange that these delightful sentiments should be regarded as *remarkable* when coming from any disciple of Jesus! Yet we thank God that they are now breathing forth from the bosom of Orthodox Churches. May they speedily make a true Catholic, or Universal Church, a Messiah's Reign of love, purity, and peace on earth!

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VII.—THE CONSTRAINING LOVE OF CHRIST. A Sermon preached before the Provincial Association of Lancashire and Cheshire Presbyterian Ministers. By F. Howorth. 1843. J. Green, London.

THIS is a truly Evangelical Sermon. For the Scripture interpretation in the introductory observations we do not vouch,—but the practical and exhortatory part is worthy of the devoted, fervent, self-sacrificing spirit of a Minister of the Gospel. Perhaps the Author has not done full justice to those functions of a Minister of Religion not included in the personal offices of a Pastor, but we cannot find fault with the exclusive force and aim with which an earnest mind directs itself to those things which most urgently need reform. There are various types of ministerial excellence, and we may doubt whether the Pastor, in the conception of him which this Discourse presents, is the highest,—but wherever pitying and purifying Love can do its blessed work of awakening and healing the hearts and consciences of men, may it be found in the earnest simplicity which Mr. Howorth here describes, and in his own life exemplifies!

## ART. VIII.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*I. Religious Intelligence from America.*—The Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters. 1843. Boston: W. Crosby. London: John Green.

It appears that the month of May is as closely associated with the Religious Anniversaries of America, as with the Exeter Hall meetings in London. A May meeting no longer breathes of fresh garlands and fresher spirits, but of crowded rooms and heated minds. We have here an account of the Proceedings of some Twenty Societies, and some of their transactions are not a little notable. We shall turn first to the Unitarian Anniversaries.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.—The Eighteenth Annual Report gave an account of the progress of the Association from a small commencement to its present strength and usefulness.

“The last year’s history was a good one. The Secretary had pursued his labours as usual. Auxiliary associations now existed in most of our congregations. The number of members was not far from 5,000. Twenty new auxiliaries had been formed within the year, and nine persons had become life members. Aid had been extended to twenty-seven destitute societies; and twenty missionaries been employed for periods of various length. Between sixty and seventy thousand tracts had been distributed, or between five and six thousand every month. Applications for them had come from all parts of the country. They were in part doctrinal, to meet the misrepresentations of our belief which were current; of which one or two strong examples were cited. In future, the Committee hoped to give more affirmative exhibitions of doctrine. A closer acquaintance had been cultivated the past year with the ‘Christians,’ and one of their ministers had been employed as a missionary of the Association. An extract was given from a letter written by him, upon the union which might be maintained between the two denominations. The Report anticipated much good from such a union. The receipts of the year had been 7511,32 dollars; the amount expended and appropriated, 7649,20 dollars. A movement had been made among our churches in behalf of missionary exertions, which had been attended with success and deserved commendation. There was reason to hope that our churches would exhibit more religious action, more life. Notice



was taken of the death of Dr. Channing, as of one who had done more for religion than any other man of the age. Might it teach us lessons of heavenly wisdom."

After the reading of the Report, Mr. Parkman, of Dover, insisted on the need of a more philanthropic spirit. "He urged the claims of humanity, and spoke of the subjection of the Church to the spirit of sectarianism. If a slave should escape from the South, and come into a Baptist, Methodist, or Orthodox anniversary meeting at the North, he would hear of freedom, zeal, and the Missionary spirit, but he would find discussion stifled for the sake of sectarian capital. He related a story of a minister preaching the Gospel with handcuffs for his slave in his pockets, in illustration of the spirit of the American Church; and quoted the older story of the man in the Gospel, whom both priest and Levite passed by. He maintained that it was the selfish principle of our nature to which appeal is made in preaching. Scepticism takes advantage of this, and Christianity turns its back upon the slave and the battle field. The age needs Christian life. Mr. Parkman concluded by offering a resolution in regard to the employment of missionaries at the South." We are sorry to add that this Resolution was disposed of by some technical objection, and a motion for adjournment. We are not disposed to think, however, that Missionaries should be *sent* to the South, for on services involving peril and perhaps death, devoted men must appear ready to offer their lives for the Truth and Freedom of the Gospel, and the Brotherhood of Man.

The subject was resumed at the Collation which followed the Meeting, but met no better reception. Mr. Pierpoint, one of whose songs, written for the occasion, had just been sung, "asked if the Meeting would tolerate his prose, as well as his poetry, for he had something to say, though he feared it would not be acceptable. He would send Unitarianism to the South unmanacled and unsealed; and would not send it at all, unless it could be received as it was sent; quoted the treatment which their own Missionary had received; believed that our religion needed to be disenthralled here also—in Massachusetts; did not esteem it enough to apply Christianity to the intellect; yet some sins were deemed so vile, that our genteel Christianity will not touch them, but leaves the drunkard, for example, to be saved by his brother drunkard; inquired what Unitarianism had done for the liberation of the slave, who, if he was black, was not therefore unworthy of our regard; but saw, from the number leaving the room, that he was making a *moving* speech, and concluded his remarks." Some attempt was afterwards

made to explain this interruption, but it is impossible to suppose that it was not directed against the subject and the speaker.

After the various meetings, which continued for several days, the Anniversary was closed by the celebration of the Lord's Supper by the ministers and people. Between five and six hundred communicated. The whole service must have been singularly suitable, solemn and impressive.

THE PRISON DISCIPLINE SOCIETY presented a Report unfavourable to the system of Solitary Confinement, as tested by experience. It adopted the following Resolution as expressive of its own principles, which if it does not throw much light on Prison Discipline shows humane and enlightened feeling, and is besides a literary curiosity in its way :—

“*Resolved*, That the Bible, the chapel, the chaplain, the Sabbath school-room, the Sabbath school teacher; reading the Scriptures morning and evening, accompanied with singing and prayer in the chapel; faithful religious conversation with the prisoners by the officers and others who have a heart for it; visiting the prisoners; solitary confinement at night; the constant superintendence of humble, faithful, and pious officers; pure air, good light, wholesome food, careful attention to the sick, mild punishments for misdemeanors, cleanliness, order, obedience, intelligent superintendence, careful inspection, full accounts in Annual Reports,—are the means which we approve in Prison Discipline.”

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—At the meeting of this society, the following resolutions were offered—(it is not said whether they were adopted):—“That the *Clergy*, and Sectarian Corporations, or existing Church of this country, are the enemies of human freedom, and obstacles in the way of the Anti-Slavery cause, as well as of every other righteous reform; that Christianity can know the clerical profession only as its incorrigible enemy, which it must and will destroy, as it will every other form of usurpation, despotism, and slavery; that the American Church and Clergy are the bulwarks of American Slavery, and that the tremendous engines of truth and love be brought to bear upon these bulwarks and level them to the dust.”

These resolutions would really appear almost justified by the proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, (New School,) at the very same time holding its meetings in Philadelphia. The Assembly resolved that, “Whereas there is great diversity of opinion as to the proper and best mode of action on the subject of Slavery, it is not for the edification of the Church for this body to take any action on the subject.”

The General Assembly that, on account of difference of opinion, had no action to recommend on the outrageous evil and sin of *Slavery*, then proceeds to recommend a most vigorous and united action against the "evil" of "*promiscuous dancing*." Are the Anti-Slavery Convention far wrong in relation to America, when two such resolutions can be passed, successively, by men callous to the disgrace and mockery of such a juxtaposition of determinations from a Church of Christ; to recommend that *nothing* be done as regards slavery, but to be entirely resolved to put down promiscuous dancing? Here is the Resolution verbatim—a disgusting mixture of cant, impurity, and church insolence:—

"*Resolved*, That the fashionable amusement of promiscuous dancing is so entirely unscriptural, and so eminently and exclusively that of the world which lieth in wickedness, and so wholly inconsistent with the spirit of Christ or with that propriety of Christian deportment and that purity of heart which its professors are bound to maintain, as to render it not only improper and injurious for professing Christians either to partake in it, or to qualify their children for it by teaching them the *art*, but also to call for the faithful and judicious exercise of discipline on the part of church sessions, where any of the members of the churches may have been guilty."

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II. The Eighteenth Report of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, with Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, Catalogue of Books, &c. London: 1843.

The decision of the House of Lords upon the Hewley Case, and its bearings upon all Unitarian property and Endowments previous to 1813, are the most important matters in this Report.

"The Members of the Association are aware that the final decision of the Hewley Case was given in the House of Lords in August 1842. By it the previous judgments were confirmed, and the original Trustees were saddled with the costs of their Appeal to the House of Lords, notwithstanding the anomalies and peculiarities of the Case, and notwithstanding the cogent and ample reasons for that Appeal, which every impartial mind, acquainted with the history of Protestant and Presbyterian Dissent, and of Lady Hewley's foundation, must recognise. It is true that this Society had no immediate connection with, or interest in, Lady Hewley's Charity further than that of respect for the characters of the Trustees, and of sympathy in the spirit in which their duty was discharged, and in the liberal principles on which the Trust, as we conceive, was founded.

But the importance of the questions raised in the Court of Chancery by that Case was obvious from the first, and the consequences of the decision to the property and the interests, the welfare and even the existence of Unitarian societies throughout the kingdom, are most painful and momentous. The decision of the Wolverhampton Case, in the conduct of which this Association was more immediately concerned, was avowedly left dependent upon that of Lady Hewley's Charity. It has followed the precedent laid down in that Case. On the 16th of November 1842, the Lord Chancellor Cottenham decided that the Decree of the Vice-Chancellor in the Case of the Wolverhampton Chapel should be affirmed, because the deeds, in his opinion, proved that 'The Trust was created for the benefit of congregations professing doctrines tolerated by the existing laws, which the preaching of Unitarian doctrines was not; and the facts that Unitarian doctrines were at one time preached in the Chapel, and that the Appellants profess those doctrines, are, I think, sufficient to support the Decree.'

"The Lady Hewley decision has in one respect been advantageous to us. The judges and law-lords were unanimously of opinion that the idea often thrown out by Lord Eldon, that Anti-Trinitarian opinions were Anti-Christian, and, being Anti-Christian, were prohibited by the Common Law, was altogether baseless.

¶ "With respect to the will of Mr. Cooke, the suit in Chancery, for deciding the intention expressed in it by the Testator, is still pending. The next of kin of the Testator had previous to the decision in the Lady Hewley Case insisted on Lord Eldon's doctrine just adverted to, and urged that on this ground the gift was void. They have now retracted this position, and the Case is under an arrangement which will give the Association their full claim.

"The only other matters which have come before your Committee in relation to this department, are those of the Chapels at Aberdeen and Yarmouth.

"The latter case (that of the Chapel at Yarmouth) strongly illustrates the difficulties of our present legal position. It was an application from the congregation at Yarmouth for assistance to enable them to rebuild their Chapel; and your Committee, having consulted their legal adviser, have been obliged to refuse the application, on the ground that, under the Lady Hewley decision, the title to no Chapel built before 1813 could be good, and that the Association were not justified in expending funds placed in their hands for Unitarian objects on property which might immediately after be placed in the possession of other denominations or wasted by law.

"But it is amongst our brethren in Ireland that the consequences of this decision of the Hewley and Wolverhampton Cases, and of the principles on which the highest legal authorities have rested that decision, have been at present most severely felt, and threaten immediately the most calamitous results. 'One congregation connected with the Presbytery of Antrim, and one belonging to the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster, have been deprived of their meeting-houses and burying-grounds, in addition to their being involved in oppressive law-expenses.



In Dublin a large fund has been wrested from the majority of the Trustees, who had succeeded to its management agreeably to the appointment of its founders: and within the last year informations have been filed in Chancery against the ancient congregations of Eustace-street and Strand-street in the same city, at the relation of parties who are entire strangers to these Worshipping Societies, and who have not, and never had any beneficial interest whatever in their funds or other property. The object of these suits is to deprive them of the houses of worship built by their fathers,—of the communion plate from which they have so long commemorated the sufferings and death of their Redeemer, as well as of all the funds handed down to them by former generations, and carefully preserved and augmented by themselves,—to cast upon the world their Ministers, some of them now in the decline of life, who had justly reckoned on a continuance of support from funds that had been so applied for upwards of a century,—and even to rob the widow and the fatherless of their allotted provision.’

“In addition to the proceedings thus disastrously completed, or actually in progress, similar measures are vauntingly threatened against twenty-eight other congregations, some of them possessing valuable properties, directly descended from their ancestors, or accumulated by themselves, whilst others are too poor to attempt a legal defence of their just rights, or erect new places of worship for themselves and their children.

“It is scarcely necessary to state that the Committee of the Association, in common with their friends and fellow-believers in all the Unitarian societies throughout the kingdom, were deeply impressed with a sense of the altered position of their affairs and prospects. Your Committee felt themselves utterly incompetent to deal with all the emergencies of the case, which demanded a union and operations of a far wider character, of far other nature than those within the ordinary scope and action of this Society; but they deemed it incumbent upon them to promote such union and to do all in their power to call forth such operations: they therefore summoned a confidential meeting of ministers and gentlemen to meet at the rooms of the Society, to take into consideration the present position and duties of Unitarians; and at that Meeting it was resolved that a still larger Meeting should be summoned, with a view to the formation of a permanent Society for securing the interests of Presbyterian Chapels and trusts.

“Such a Society has been formed under the name of the Presbyterian Union, and is now pursuing its anxious labours for obtaining some legal protection. We know not to what extent this modern and unexpected species of persecution may be carried, but we must throw ourselves in humble dependence upon Divine Providence, and bearing our upright testimony to what we deem the saving truth of the Gospel, ‘take pleasure,’ after the example of the great Apostle, ‘in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ’s sake.’”

The Foreign Proceedings of the Association during the year were the contribution of £25 towards the support of an Unitarian Christian Congregation at Montreal, with books and

tracts to the value of £15,—and the placing in the hands of some zealous friends a number of books and tracts for distribution at the Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope. The following is an Extract from a Letter addressed by Dr. Henry Ware to the Secretary:—

“Boston, April 1, 1843.

“Our own congregations are prosperous and hopeful. The movement toward a more active, spiritually religious life is very decided and forceful; we are advancing in zeal, devotion and philanthropy, and though some tend more to a Calvinistic interpretation of some points than is good, yet on the whole we have cause for unusual congratulation and hope. We begin to be in want of ministers, and our duller preachers are losing favour more and more. We have ordained three fine young men in Boston within the last twelve months, and we now want another.”

The Home Proceedings of the Association are the contribution of Books and Tracts to various Congregations in England and Ireland to the amount of £31. 19s. 2d.; grants in support of public worship to several poor Congregations to the amount of £145,—and £25 placed in the hands of Mr. John Ashworth of Rossendale, for distribution among the poorer Members of the Unitarian Congregations in Lancashire. The Report closes by saying:—

“It has been our duty and policy during the past year rather to watch the progress of events than to undertake active, bold and enterprising measures for the diffusion of our sentiments, for the strengthening of the old, or the erection of new, churches, dedicated to that one living and true God, whom the Lord and Master of Christians enjoined his disciples to worship. We trust that the Gracious Providence, in the wisdom and goodness of whose dispensations it is our happiness to put the most assured faith, will speedily disperse the cloud which now rests upon our religious institutions. We feel confident that the elements of a high energetic spiritual life exist in our body, and whether the friends of our cause are called upon for large personal sacrifices, or for exertions of an unusually arduous character, we rely upon the zeal and earnestness of the Unitarian public for meeting faithfully every emergency of the times.”

The whole Income of the Association for the year has been £828. 13s. 10d.,—and the Expenditure £910. 8s. 11d. Of this, £380. 17s. 7d. has been expended in the purchase and publication of Books, and £261. 3s. 2d. in the working of the Machinery of the Association, rent, and salaries. We observe that Dr. Henry Montgomery, in his Sermon preached before the Association, states that, “almost the entire funds are con-

tributed by the citizens of London." Dr. Montgomery must have made this statement without looking into the Accounts, and the officers of the Association ought to have corrected it before it passed into print. By Donation and Subscription, London and its vast neighbourhood contributed £228. 13s. 0d., whilst the whole amount of Donations and Subscriptions, during the year, is £637. 0s. 6d. In comparison with any other single place, London certainly contributes a very large proportion of the funds of the Unitarian Association, but in reference to other objects, which, though designed for the general benefit, have a local centre, such as Manchester New College, the proportion of the expense borne by London would be found as signally small.

We cannot think that the Catalogue of Books is at all creditable to the Unitarian Association. Considerable funds have been judiciously expended on Turner's Lives of Eminent Unitarians, and on a cheap reprint of Griesbach's Greek Testament; but on the whole the same list of stale goods appears year after year, whilst such works as Cappe's Discourses, and the Life of Christ, and Memoirs of Herself, by Mrs. Catherine Cappe, are entered as new additions. To name the books in this scanty catalogue which we regard as totally obsolete or unprofitable would be invidious, but why does it not contain such works as the following: *Norton's Statement of Reasons for not believing the doctrine of the Trinitarians on the person of Christ*; *Norton on the Genuineness of the Gospels*; *Furness's Jesus and his Biographers*; *Furness's Family Prayers*; *Noyes' translation of the Prophets*; *of the Psalms*; *and of the Book of Job, with Notes*; *Martineau's Rationale of Religious Inquiry*; *Buckminster's Sermons*; *Greenwood's Sermons on Consolation, and his Lives of the Apostles*; *Carpenter's Harmony of the Gospel, and his own Life*; *Fox's admirable Sermons on Christ and Christianity*; *Palfrey on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities*; *Locke on the Epistles*; *Butler's Three Sermons on Human Nature*; and a host of smaller publications which we have not space to set down? Why are the *Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy by Joseph Blanco White* not among the books of the Unitarian Association; why does not one of *Dewey's four volumes of Sermons*, not even excepting the *Controversial* ones, appear in this Catalogue; why are not *Yates's Vindication of Unitarianism and Sequel* in their list; or why does not the Association republish them if they are out of print? No controversial works are more deserving of being kept before the public, and we cannot suppose objection on the part of their Author. Surely these would be important additions to a Catalogue whose whole number of books is 163,

even though to make room for them it was found necessary to displace Gabriel Watts's Words of Wisdom, Rev. Josiah Townsend's Catechism, or, (we take these at random from the list,) Two Tracts on the Study of the Scriptures, by a Lady. When we look at the poverty of this Catalogue we cannot much wonder that though the expenditure for the year in this department has been £380. 17s. 7d., the whole amount received for Books sold is £23. 16s. 10d. It is quite necessary that the Association should speedily reform this matter, and take care that the best modern works in connection with Unitarian Christianity are not excluded from its Catalogue. For years we have heard the complaint from the subscribers to the Book Department, that their contribution was a dead loss to them, for the Catalogue rarely contained anything new that they cared to see.



## THE CHRISTIAN TEACHER.

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WITH the present number of the *Christian Teacher* we complete the Fifth volume of our labours.

We retain the conviction that a Quarterly Periodical conducted in the general spirit of our work, is necessary both to represent, and to aid in the development of the faith and opinions of our section of the religious world. A Periodical, the servant of no sect, loving the spirit of the gospel but afraid of no truth, might, if supported by the adequate zeal, energy, and learning, contribute something to elicit such a view of Christianity, as Reason, and History, and its own suitableness to produce a spiritual union among the civilized portion of mankind, would approve as the Universal Religion, the Genuine Gospel of Christ. It is vain to expect that any of the rival Creeds will ever unite the intelligent world beneath its mastery; but can nothing be done to establish the fundamental principles on which a true religious union must be founded, and to gain for these principles a recognition and acceptance among mankind? A work of this nature should be enabled to present vivid pictures of the existing Christian world, with an analysis of the originating elements of its leading subdivisions,—and especially of those lately formed Parties, whose birth exhibits that struggle of principles and ideas, which is now every where characteristic of the present Condition of Religion. A work of this class would avoid all interference with those Periodicals more particularly devoted to the theology and literature of a sect; and accordingly in the plan and conduct of the *Christian Teacher* we have carefully shunned all rivalry with our older Magazines, whilst we have felt the great importance of closely identifying ourselves with the Unitarian Body, as the only portion of the religious community which could find full satisfaction in our pages, and the only nucleus of any interest or influence we could ever hope to possess.

It may be that this deficiency in a merely Denominational interest, uniting with Editorial weakness, and the necessary imperfections of a work supported by *unpaid* labour, every page of which has been a sacrifice and free gift of the writer, has

contributed from the first to narrow the circle of our readers, and gradually to contract it to a degree that threatens to render the continued existence of the Periodical no longer possible. As we have no interest in this matter, separate from those of the religious Body which we desire to represent and serve, there is no reason why we should not speak of the affairs of the *Christian Teacher* with entire plainness. No one, acquainted with the history of such publications, could engage in them with an expectation of profit. Though the extent of circulation must always be regarded as mainly the measure of good performed by any publication, we should have been satisfied with a bare existence, and the knowledge that we were supplying a want to that limited public in whose service we are called to labour. The Editor has been enabled to obtain the assistance of some few Contributors, who were willing to give their time and thoughts without recompence; and accordingly not a single Article since the commencement of this periodical has been paid for, and its readers have had to defray only the mechanical expenditure of paper, print and sale. The returns were at first sufficient for these purposes, and are only now ceasing to be so. A larger Number than usual, containing a greater quantity of pages and consequently brought out at an increased expense, leaves that additional cost a burden on the Magazine. The circulation never steadily reaching five hundred is now reduced to less than four.

An organ giving adequate expression to the views of Religion, Morals, and Society, held by the most devout and inquiring minds among the Unitarian Body of the New and the Old World, and engaging general attention by the vigour, earnestness, and fulness of knowledge with which it treated these great subjects, could not fail to be the most powerful instrument for the spread of what they hold to be Christian Truth, that the Unitarians have ever yet brought to bear upon the public mind. A Periodical, to become such an organ, must have the power of *commanding* the best talent and information on every subject which it opens. Its Editor, when he has designed the plan of each successive Number, and determined the questions and the books which should, at that particular time, be brought before the public, should have the power of completing his design, by engaging for his work the minds that are best qualified to labour in each department. Without a command of *capital* this cannot possibly be done. The usual remuneration in the ordinary Periodicals, conducted as trading speculations, is a guinea a page. It is no small matter, for it is apt to be felt as a personal favour conferred upon himself, when an Editor has to ask

that labour, so highly paid in other quarters, will be undertaken for him for no remuneration whatever, but such as may proceed from the feeble and uncertain expectation of usefulness in a very limited sphere. Where the work is thus entirely voluntary, and the solicitation to individuals for painful exertion and sacrifice of time has to be continually renewed,—it will be no matter of surprise that a Periodical existing within such conditions, should fall far short of completeness and symmetry of design, as well as of freshness and vigour of execution.

We cannot but deem it as a proof of great negligence on the part of the Unitarians, and of a low appreciation of the intellectual and literary instruments of knowledge and civilization, that never at any period of their history did they entertain the project of combining their strength in the support of a Publication designed to recommend their views, on the subjects of religious inquiry, to the best consideration of the thinking and competent minds of all parties. The success of such a work would be certain. The union of the Unitarians alone, in its support, would be enough to command this,—and its circulation among the other classes of educated and inquiring men, far beyond that which any other Periodical wanting this *prestige* has ever been able to obtain. Even the Theological Repository, conducted by Priestley, and containing by far the greatest number of original and valuable communications that have appeared in any Periodical connected with the Denomination, never obtained a general support, and had to be abandoned from a want of means to defray the expenses of publication.

That no other difficulty has impeded the realization of such a combined effort, than the total absence of any sense of its importance, a brief statement and calculation will clearly show. Our own Magazine will serve for calculating expenses as well as any other, and the facts are within our own knowledge. The ordinary expenses of a number are from thirty to forty pounds. Let us state the cost of publication of four numbers, that is of a whole year, at two hundred pounds. Three hundred pounds would be sufficient for the remuneration of Contributors, in consideration of the extent to which they would be influenced chiefly by a desire to propagate important views of religious Truth. So that five hundred pounds a year would meet the whole expenses of authorship and publication of a work like the *Christian Teacher*, if conducted in the same way as the ordinary class of Periodical Literature. A circulation of one thousand copies would produce this five hundred pounds; and the advertising department would more than meet all incidental expenses. No capital, in fact therefore, would be required, if

a union of Unitarians could be secured to such an extent as to secure a circulation of one thousand copies. There can be no question that such a result might be secured, two, three, or four fold, by the formation of a Proprietary body throughout the various congregations of our denomination in the kingdom,—the proprietary body being indeed only the Subscribers, and contributing nothing more than the price of their single copy. We call them a Proprietary not strictly, but merely to indicate that they would hold themselves pledged to support, simply by taking it, a Periodical enabled to command competent talent by offering a fair remuneration for the labour devoted to its service. Such a co-operation would of course imply some controul over the Review, and arrangements might be made with the view of placing the appointment of Editor in the hands of certain select persons who had the confidence of the general Body. These persons might be responsible for the expenses of Publication, though the responsibility would be nominal. If, by so doing, he can promote the realization of such a scheme as he has now sketched, the present Editor and Proprietor will gladly withdraw himself and his work from before the Public, whilst he earnestly requests that nothing here stated may be interpreted as implying the remotest doubt on his part of the usefulness or acceptableness of the existing Magazines which are designed upon another model, and undertake a different service, from that of an elaborate Quarterly Review.

The Editor of the *Christian Teacher* can do no more than throw out this design, and wait to see what will become of it. Meanwhile, he will continue his present work for another year with such increased strength of authorship as he can obtain, in the hope that either it may become more successful and more deserving of success, or that something better may arise to take its place. Amply occupied by other interests and cares, yet naturally not indifferent to the fate of a work that has employed so much of the time not due to his more peculiar charge, either alternative would more than content him: but he confesses that he would regard it both a severe disappointment, and an evil omen, if this Work should perish, and no other, of a similar character, appear to take its place. It has, at all events, proved, by an experience of nearly six years, that it is possible, without actual loss, to support such a periodical by the free gifts of voluntary Contributors.

In the next year, whilst nothing of a catholic spirit will be abandoned, an attempt will be made to keep closer to us the Denominational sympathies of the Unitarian body, by allotting a considerable space, in each Number, to the review of Unitarian



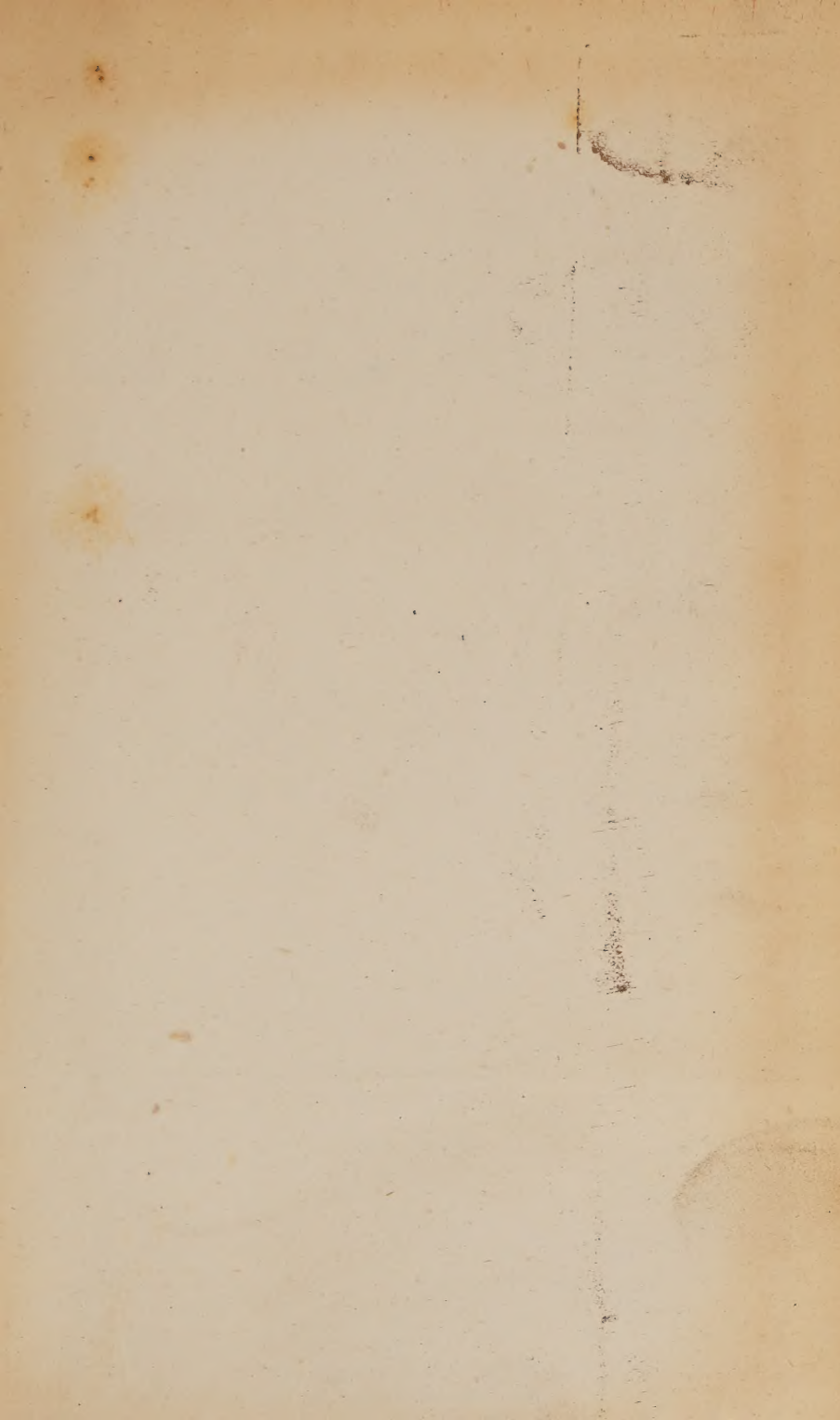
works, so that no publication, of any general interest, shall appear without some notice. The neglect of some such plan, with the impossibility of giving a lengthened review of every publication, has compelled us to pass over many works deserving a respectful consideration.

An attempt will also be made to give increased variety and value to the Literary department of the Review; not by undertaking to criticise that immense mass of publications which, Coleridge used to say, was called into existence to meet the wants and tastes of the multitudes, who had acquired the art of reading without much progress in the art of thinking, but by giving some account of such new works as may be regarded as permanent additions to the Literature of the country.

In projecting these improvements the Editor has honestly avowed the difficulties and disadvantages under which he labours, and which are impediments to their execution. He earnestly solicits the intellectual, literary, and moral support of those of his brethren in the Ministry, whose faith in Christianity is accompanied by devout faith in Truth and Freedom. Their confidence and co-operation would command success. He also solicits the literary aid and contributions of the numerous minds among the laity, in whom a profound sentiment of religion has led to earnest habits of religious inquiry. He would wish this Periodical to be a meeting place for the professional and non-professional lovers and students of the Gospel of Truth: and as long as it is under his care, it is his desire that its spirit shall be, at once, Christian and Catholic; expressly devoted to the service of Christianity, in the faith that that service is perfect Freedom, and that only "the Truth makes free."

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.









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